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		_	1	ESE MICRO, SER.	
Act	tion Required:	See paragraph 2.	L		
Re	ferences :	A. HMMA-35905, 27 Novem B. MEXICO CITY-8228, 27			
by	the latest deve Wallace B. ROW	d herewith as attachment elopments of the LIRING-3 FON and dated 5, 10, 11. L points covered in these	opera	ation prepared	
	one Humberto, who has apparent the latter's	ING-3 made contact on 5 II (*GONZALEZ Vega (no Staticently been designated by contact with LIRING-3 in and a sketch of GONZALE contained in ROWTON's 10	on tra the l Mexic Z prov	aces), FAR as to City. vided by	
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-	FRe: commection	on with 201-7983018			
	tachments: 1/ Reports (4), 2/ Letter (1), 1 3. Identity she	n/s/c			
Di	att	D (w/atts - 1 copy each # #3) Guatemala City (w/atts -			•
_	#2;	2 copies att #3)	•		
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		нима - 36114	2	7 December 1968	
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<u> </u>	<u></u>			1	

b. According to GONZALEZ, Identity D, who left for Guatemala with LIRING-3 and, according to the latter, was probably executed after a period of detention, may still be alive and may have made a "deal" with the Guatemalan authorities. Identity D had apparently misappropriated FAR funds before going to Guatemala. LIRING-9's remarks to LIRING-3, as mentioned in ROWTON's report of 5 December, may be connected with Identity D's misdoings.

- c. LIRING-3 hinted to LIRING-9 that he may accept a teaching job at the University of Jalapa. (Such a job was indeed recently offered to him.) LIRING-9 advised LIRING-3 not to accept this as he would much rather send him on a trip to PBRUMEN.
- d. From a letter received from Gustavo Tit Guatimala.

 **COLINDRES Barrios, LIRING-3 gathered that the A: Guatemala.

 *BARRIOS brothers (Miguel and Juan Leon) may soon be released and may, in fact, contact him in Mexico City. The original text of that letter and its envelope are forwarded under separate cover as attachment 32. LIRING-3 interpreted some remarks made to him by Humberto GONZALEZ as another indication of a possible contact by the BARRIOS brothers in the near future. LIRING-3 plans to write back to the address given by COLINDRES and mention that he is in contact with GONZALEZ in the hope of getting a reaction from COLINDRES.
- 2. The Station plans to check further the identity given by GONZALEZ. Among other things, an attempt will be made via LIKAYAK-2 to check whether a file in that name exists in the archives of the Mexican Ministry of "Gobernacion." The Station may, at a later date, attempt spot surveillance of GONZALEZ. Meanwhile, any information that can be provided by the Guatemala City Station to further identify GONZALEZ would be appreciated.

BARRIOS, Miguel 201-216006

for Willard C. CURTIS

TH.3

S E C'R E T

CLASSIFICATION

CONTINUED 3

2 of 2

HEREWITH ATTACHMENT TO HMMA-37739

SECRET

AGENT SERVICE RECORD

21 Aug 69

- 1. Agent Cryptonym: LIETEG-3
- 2. Project: LIE MINE
- 3. Agent Recruited By: Wallace P. ECUTON
- 4. Capacity in Which Agent Served: Access agent to Cubin Embassy; Informant on Central American revolutionary groups and activities.
- 5. Rate of Pay: Did not receive regular salary, but was given between 3000 and 3500 mexican resos per month. (Equivalent to \$240 to \$280).
- 6. Other Commitments: ..cre
- 7. Agent Dismissed By: Leonard S. TORLET. Dismissal effective 1 July 1969.
- 8. Reason for Dismissal: Agent in effect terminated himself, since he failed to initiate contact with Station after being turned over to TUREST by HOUTON.
- 9. Security Risks: LINING-3 was not made witting of EVM CV interest in this case. He knew both FIITCN and TCRAET in alias. No safehouses were exposed to LIFING-3. LIMING-3 was met once in TCRAET's QF vehicle.
- 10. Securityx Riskse

11. Manner of Dismissal: As stated above, no direct dismissal was made, since LIMING-3 broke off contact with the Station.

12. Letter of Termination Signed: No

133. Cost of Termination: None

14. Station Case Officer: Leonard S. TORGET CANADA Acting

Acting (Signature in Freudonym)

15. Chief of Station: Horace E. Frank Transact (Signature Pseudonym)

APPROVED 17/

SECRET

TH CONTRACT APPROVING OFFICER

TRAPT APPROVING OFFICER

CS COPY

201-798301

ATTACHMENT 4/

DOEL 9 NAF

DOC. MICRO, BEE

5 December, 1968

NTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/3

2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1100, 5/12/68; Identity

3. Next Meeting:

1700, 6/12/68; Iden A

4. Administrative: Rowton asked LIF

Rowton asked LIRING/3 to rent a small apartment that they could use as a safehouse, in lieu of

Iden A, for the future. This was not only in the interest of economy, for for obvious security reasons. Rowton gave LIRING/3 1,500 pesos as an advance for this purpose.

5. Reports/Information Passed by Agent:

LIRIEG/3 reported to Rowton that he had dropped into the LIRING office on 4/12/68 in the hope of running into the LIRING Cnief so that he could mention to him casually the proposed trip to PBRUMEN at the end of the month. LIRING/3 told Rowton that he did not see the Chief inasmuch as he was intercepted by LIRING/9. The latter appeared as cordial as on the previous occasion, but this time made a brief reference to LIRING/3's report. He asked: "Are you sure you included everything?" L/3 told Rowton that he replied in a rather puzzled tone, "Of course. Everything, that is, that I could remember. To which L/9 explained: "I mean about the 'motivos' of the arrest. It seems there's more to it than you wrote. We have some interesting data on that subject. We'll discuss it with you on Friday." LIRING/3 then reported to Rowton that when he and LIRING/4 dropped in to on 3/12/68 Identity B the secretary of the Director. Identity C, gave them a message that s person by the name of Humberto Gonzalez Vega, residing at Calle Manzanillo 42, in apartment 8, had visited Iden B several times asking for the address of LIRING/3. LIRING/3 continued to Rowton that he attempted to contact Humberto Gonzalez Vega at the address given on 4/12/68 but was told by a woman of about 35 years of age with a slight Guatemalan accent that he was out at the time. She took L/3's address with interest and suggested that L/3 return after 1500 the following day in the event Gonzalez did net contact him at his home. I/3 told Rowton that he guessed (and hoped that this was "Favel".

h/w att:1 HMMA - 36114

CS COPY

ATTACHMENT IF/

10 December, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with Humberto González Vega.

1. At 1000 on 9/12/68 at Identity A LIRING/3 reported to Rowton that he had met with Humberto González Vega on 5 and 6 December. He related that he had gone back to the apartment on Calle Manzanillo on the afternoon of 5 December, met González and made a date to see him again on the morning of 6 December. When he returned about 1030 on that day González' wife said that he had just stepped out to telephone the embassy of Ecuador. L/3 went out and found González at a nearby telephone booth and managed to have a relatively detailed chat with him.

2. According to I/3, González sarted off by saying that he had been looking forward to meeting I/3 for some time, since he had heard a great deal about him from mutual friends. González went on to say that although he had been away from Guatemala for the past four years, he kept in touch with his friends there. He dropped the names of Sandoval Alegría, Jorge Torrón and a certain Avecillas (phon) who he assumed were known to LIRING/3. He concluded his introductory remarks with the statement that he hoped he and L/3 would become friends, since they could be of mutual help.

3. González added that he was making a living selling books and was planning to open a book store at the University. He indicated that he might be able to help L/3 financially if the latter were interested in this business venture. González then stated that he was aware of L/3's arrest and detention and alleged that he had advance information concerning L/3's trip to Guatemala in the company of Identity D . He then asked L/3 whether he knew the real purpose of Iden D trip. When L/3 replied in a non-committal way, González alleged thatIden Dhad been accused of misappropriation of funds and took, the trip in the hope of defending himself against these charges, González then produced a typewritten letter, undated and addressed to himself and signed by "Cruz", advising him of the charges againstIden D.González told L/3 that the letter was from FAR headquarters and was received some time beforeIden Dand L/3 left on their trip.

4. González then went on to say that he and his friends were not at all certain thatIden Dhad been executed, as I/3 and many other people assumed. He stated that some months ago Iden D mother in Mexico 'ity had received a letter from him informing her that he was then at Salamá (phon). González added that it was not to be excluded thatIden Dhad made some sort of deal with the authoritie. to save his skin in exchange for services he might perform against Far in the future.

5. Gonzáñez then cautioned L/3 against indiscriminate contacts with persons

representing themselves to be from legitimate "revolutionary" movements. González recounted that he himself had to go into hiding for the previous two months as a result of his having been exposed to a certain Nuffez who had arrived in Mexico City with a group of Guatemalan exiles. González described Kuñez as a known memmber of the "Mano Blanca" and a foremer police officer ("tercero jefe de la Judicial").

- 6. González then asked L/3 whether he had made any close friends while in Guatemala. This, L/3 felt, was an attempt to smoke out his relationship with the Barrios brothers (Miguel and Juán Beón Barrios). He told howton that he evaded the issue by giving a vague reply, to which González replied: "Well, I hope to have a great surprise for you soon ('alegría')" González then suggested that they meet again on 12 December and promised to visit L/3 at his home in the company of his wife, "so that I/3's and his wife could keep each other company while they themselves were talking in L/3's apartment." L/3 told Rowton that he shot this idea down by explaining that although his wife was revolutionary and trustworthy, he preferred to keep any politicial discussions strictly between himself and González. The latter then suggested that he simply drop by L/3's house and that they both proceed somewhere for a coffee on a suitable pretext.
- 7. LIRING/3 described Humberto González Vega as a rather tall man (about 1.78) heavy (about 85-90 k.), apparent age 42, with light eyes ("ojos claros") and straight ("lacio")black hair. He drew Rowton the attached sketch for possible identification.
- 8. IIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that it was advisable for him to tell LIRING/9 at his next meeting of his contact with González Vega to provoke a reaction from the LIRING establishment.

Wallace B. Rowton

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Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with LIRING/9 and LIRING/10.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1300 on 10 December, 1968, that he had finally succeeded in talking again with LIRING/9. He related that when he went/the LIRING office as requested at about 1030 on 9/12/68 he was told by the receptionist that LIRING/9 was still out. L/3 was asked to telephone later, about 1300, to check whether L/9 had returned. LIRING/3 telephoned, as requested, a little after 1300 (in Ro-ton's presence) but was told that LIkInG/9 had not returned. L/3 left a message for L/9 that he would come to his office again the following morning. 2. LIRING/3 continued that he reappeared at the LIRING officeabout the same time the next day (10/12/68) and was told this time by the receptionist (the wife of LIRING/10's assistant) that LIRING/9 was in. At this monent LIRING/9 himself emerged from his office with papers in his hand, winked at LIRING/3, and returned without addressing him. 1 for minutes later I/3 was told by the reception st that L/9 would see him. The following is Rowton's reconstruction of the conversation that took place between LIRING/3 and LIRING/9, based on L/3's report to Rowton:

- L/9: "Come in. I'm sorry I couldn't see you Friday or yesterday. I was out of town."
- L/3: "It's alright with me, except that I have a number of things pending as far as my own plans are concerned."
- L/9: "Well, how are you doing?"
- L/3: "Fairly well. I just received a letter froz my good friend, Prof. Carlo Antonio Castro of the University of Veracruz. He has been insisting that I go down to Jalapa to see him. He wants to organize an exposition and also to offer me an interesting position at the University."
- L/9: "But would that mean that you would have to stay in Jalapa?"
- L/3: "Yes, of course; that is, if I accept. It's a tempting solution to my personal problems. As I told you I'm still "up in the air".
- L/9: "But I don't think that's the solution. A trip would be much better."
- I/3: "Yes, but I have to make a decision soon. Also my wife received a letter from her father inviting her to New York. Here's the letter. Do you want to read it?"
- L/9: "No. What does it say?"
- I/3: "Her father says that he can give her medical certificates to prove he is very sick so that she can get a visa without any

difficulty."

L/9: "But as I said before, she shouldn't go to the American Embassy.

Keep her away from it. That would be bad, as I explained last
time."

L/3: "I'm doing my best, but it's not easy. Things are still up xx in the air with us."

(At about this moment in the conversation, LIRING/10 entered the office, and, after greeting LIRING/9 rather perfunctorily, carried on the following conversation with LIRING/3:)

L/10: "How have you been?"

1/3: "Rother well, blanks?"

L/10: "And your wife? Is she recovering from the strain?"

L/3: "Just about. The nightmare is finally over and she feels better now."

L/10: "#Ell I hope you'll come by here often - as often as you ilike.
We enjoy chatting with you."

(After this brief exchange, LIRING/10 left the office.)

L/3: "By the way, how is your Chief doing? I'd like to drop in to express my appreciation for the interest he xxxxxx and his wife showed in helping my wife during my absence."

L/9: "Well, he's not doing too well."

L/3: "Ch, another thing. I finally met that Guatemalan 'Pavel' I mentioned in my report."

L/9: "Yes, how did it go?"

L/3: "His name is Humberto González Vega. He's been in Mexico for some time. A former activist in the PTG. You must know him."

L/9: "Yes.

L/3: "He wants to see me again on Thursday for a more detailed talk."

L/9: "Fine. well, I hope you keep coming around to see us whenever you can."

3. LIRING/3 commented to Rowton that he felt that LIRING/10's intrusion tad not been coincidental, and that L/9 had advised him of L/3's arrival before he himself received L/3 into his office.

2001 ST

Wallace B. Rowton

ATTACHMENT #1 HMMA-36114

12 Lacember, 1968

Subject: LINING/3 Ecceipt of Latter from Gustavo Colindres.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1700 on 12/12/68 that he had received a letter from Gustavo Colindres, a Guatemalar of about 40 years d age = whom he had met in the Pavón prison in Guatemala City. LIRING/3 stated that Colindres is the uncle (mother's side) of the León Barrios prothers, although he does not have the same name of sra. Barrios. L/3 explained that they were born of different fathers. L/3 added that Colindres was imprisoned some 18 months ago for responsibility in an arms cache discovered in or near his home.

2. The following is Rowton's translation of the original letter which LINING/3 gave how on for copying:

"I hope that when you arrived in your Mexico, you found only peace and satisfaction in being once again in the warmth of your tome. Here on the farm we have missed you and felt badky at not hearing from the artist and the professor, and now that I have succeeded in obtaining your address, I am taking the liberty of dropping your a few lines. I want you both to keep abreast of what's going on at the old farm, even though we're still struggling to turn it over to new owners, but they haven't as yet agreed to the price. I guess I'll be the last to leave the ship, since I haven't a chance to get off. The lions are the next to leave their cage. Lorenzana' left a month ago and the Queen left on the 2nd of December. Promise me that when you take a drink you'll toast the farm and the date that is approaching.

My best to your wife, kisses to your child and my best wishes for your welfare. May this year of strange experiences engrave is your mind the memory of a friend.

Guat. 7/12/68

/s/ G.Colindres

Please send your correspondence to me in the name of my wife, Isabel
Bonis de Colindres, 5 av. y 7a Calle, lote 6-Manzana 26, Colonia Santa
Marta, Zona 19, Guat. Cuidad, América Central.

3. LIRING/3 told Rowton he understood the "lions are next to leave their
cage" to mean that the León Barrios brothers are soon to be released and
that this letter is a signal to him to be on the alert for a contact from
them in the near future. I/3 told Rowton that he intended to reply to this

letter at once, and to take the occasion to mention casually that he has met a Guatemalan in Mexico City by the name of Humberto Gorzález Vega who seems to know everyone there quite well. L/3 hopes that this will provoke some sort of comment from the León Barrios brothers wither directly or indirectly.

4. LIRING/3 stated that Gustavo Colindres, who is still in the Pavón prison, obviously snuggled out this letter through his wife who visits him regularly. L/3 commented that Colindres told him that he isa faithful FAR member, but refused to belong to the PTG, or even to accept the financial aid doled out at the Favón prison by Francisco Corado, the PTG representative there.

Vallace B. Rowton

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SECRET

Separate Cover Attachment #3 HMMA-36114

Identity Sheet



Ministry A: Suites Marne

Identity B: Salón de la Plastica Mexicana

Identity C: Sra. Lourdes GOMEZ L. de Chumacero

Identity D: Francisco HARA Barrios

(201-832457)

SECRET

sk att :3 Hmma-36114 CS COPY

201-798301

ATTACHMENT #2 HMMA-36114

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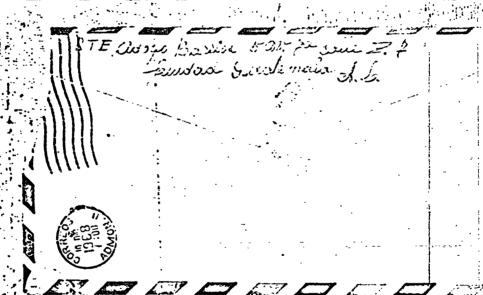
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201-798301

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CLASSIFICATION PROCESSING ACTION **DISPATCH** SECRET MARKED FOR DIDEXING Chief, WH Division NO INDEXING REQUIRÉD ONLY QUALIFIED DESK Chief of Station, Guatemala City SUBJECT O PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 Repor Action Required: References HMMA-35905, 27 November 1968 MEXICO CITY-8228, 27 November 1968 Forwarded under separate cover are Xerox copies of the handwritten report prepared by LIRING-3 and given by him, per reference B; to LIRING-9. The report was written in two instalments, the first titled "Situacion General" and the second titled "Antecedentes" and various other notes. Attachment: Report, u/s/c Distribution: Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 2 copies) 2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/att - 1 copy) She att:1 DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER HMMA - 36115 27 December 1968

SECRET

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201-798301

Chitmairen General: Duránte los durs que persumeer en la Celda 400 del 2º Courpe de policia Tomé oportramadad de Cambras un presienes can Rolando Ontra Cebolli-Tat nobre la contracción general de quaternala esplésibilité de FIR, por aquel entonces Césarinontes No latia sido destituido y se miciala nema Cara-para de Terrible represson por parte del gabierno, de acuado con las infranciaciones se desprende le Cignente: la division entre PGTM FAR proviés una crituaison dificil pero algoriso muien. for dil PET remuciaron a litt of parason a las files de FAR, amque Teoridamente el 16T dies apayer la tella asmada l méliero de l'aponer de Contingentes en la montona (gina de Garapa?) la cierto es que provida mas la division y no apoya en lo mas primmo la linea de FAR esto es a grandes Mis 194 que la détalles bon bren Concerdes. En les allimos Liempos el PGT mata de abonda. Mitte des der gention. Como exemplo duy
prin las derie gention. Como exemplo don la fortementa de Porte, donde il representante del PGT Trataba de gamas adentes entre las polas pertenecientes a FAR

Ofrientiles and da l'onimica - insistendo en als au kmea (Mi cetter) ina equivoca en muchos aspectos. Cil ner monstrado Mon Dosa Commenlante april de de et perala que el apripo 13 de moriembre de aglutinara. Teona esta capatrination se llevo a cabo, pero lu la practica se la dimostrado que este Grapo Corque actuando por an enenta anais-Todas estas Circumstantias diviniones, fal-ta de organización la falla de madrinez riceologick ett. him Traido por Consecuentia un débilitamente de la lucha asmada en quatimala. G. esto contribuige el fortale-Considerto Cadi des requipes de las frienzas represina abra de los mosteamentanos. Un Mirerto e grupado Con las asimas mas modermas a asesorado y entrenado por ellos, Qui-trala lada nez mas la colmación en la montaina. La Conscencia de Todo esto la sido la richerintication de la querille Urbana. Les proinis de FAR han Terrido qui bajoi a la Pindad y liacen enfuerza desergiandes per amirquiers pasa

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in Gratimala es una marjos comprenserio al la situación interna de les pais, y prestor per le Consignente la aspida mais adecuada. Es visited que il the portalecemento de 2174 liche peri a la ge plaze, pine par ella 2174 liche peri a la ayuda sea mas efectiva 21 chilista, di accuerdo con las opiniones de 21 realista, di accuerdo con las opiniones de Yes princavers de fein Bamos, ellementes yours pira entersiastes of valicos, attentil Hit de Servicio de milla genera, otro abaste aministas (mais la princio de milla genera, otro abaste aministas) og Tings que seguir Inabajando Africation-Con las FAR, la especial situación de Arrifice, uns experiencies personales J la Confrança que ellos me depont an lean lucte que mantenga mis Contacto, esperrando por estos dias la llegada de una pinera muy responsable que me lusca-pa con el membre de PAVEL, para seguin Inchajance en un sentido pontivo.

for Barrios (Epiales nulles antecedentes En Meyico of por Conducto de Carlo Persobal Amarcue, establica Contacte con F. a. S. Barris maternattico quen segun se me informo, era haganda en esta cindad. Lava Barros Tema nécessad de liaces us viajo a quatemala, peso necendad de siaces un vrajo a qualemala, pero la desta con citación de exilado político no podra diada con citación de exilado político no podra de de andonar el pais en forma legale of por ese de me pidio aquela, ya que de motivo se me pidio aquela, ya que de la región formativo de la región formativo de país y además un pequeno ne focio model país y además un pequeno ne focio estaba estaba estaba las basas estaba estaba establicido en para Cintobal las basas estaba establicido en para lintobal das fara Barrio hasta en forbilidad de llinur a fara Barrio hasta la Cinidad de Conatemala. a Traves de mana platacus Terridas Can il, se llego qu'el Canclusion de que pilnamon ademas de realizar diche vige, halls alymos moraments que Tuverin per finalidad poestas una anjuda efecJui intencés que se elebros em p'in, cuya rechi Siciem quidas à Cripita à la ajoutaires de ellemen. Jes directores la Constemala. Inicialmente este plan Consistra en el establicamente de un meque de impresenes en Honduras; es decir Vitidias las portulidades en ese pars paré. Vistidas las portulidades en ese paro de of sett Visitas rina permina maquina de of sett paga editar un Telegina que pridiera servir Motors puses Centramercanos inclusive Openiamina Sura Barrio Temá Constrmen-To de este Tupo de negoció, ja que seguir me infirmo, habis Trat mado antis en of varias Companias de publicidad. milion principal de esto era el le colabo-var para oliterer, por esos medicos annaa financiera para las FAR. Con esa inten-Com y desde antes, yo habra montado en In Non Cristabal de las Casas, Chrispas, m. ne (c. cio maralleta de un présiones pengrificus con la rigon Dotul de MEMANDEL di Dan Cristabal Para realizate el viage se plusa. van en vana de las posibilidades más Degmes. La mejot, dade la cegunidail Que proposcionaba, la Conse quen

documentation Muxicana para face Para el efecti elabore, con la mayor perfeccion possible una Credencial de maistro de la SEP, para alitenis orando en la fontesa. En les villemes de centres de realism decho maje of of Temendo Toko propanocho, dans Mamoral informó que Carlos Perzabal Man Ding Teresa Posada quenan acom paramos pues Teman mothers Attended pasair. Como la situación que esto plan. Teaba era dificil me opuse al vraje de Islas personas, pero Jara Barrios des jumes. 76 que Terrien neclaidades de entrenistar Con motros periodisticos à algunas perso. malidades en quaternala. Sas discussiones al despecto de prolongam vario din pues no en l'anveniente miclar des tipos de Tralojs en mi viaje que de por si Tema sus mes gos; pos en m Entoncis angieron vario inconvenientes quel m quesa retrasante diche vraje, une de elle fue que fara Barrio - Helles Comen em el en carjado de la common se luni accidentalmente la mema con & una pistola calibre 25 al leaces

prog prietrea de to, y otro que por esta Canoa brubs nigeridad de perponer la ralida y busens promedio mas adtenado, for lo que be ollumo prom porte a Consequir que una persona de Centrarya mollivari en antonovil Mar dicha perena fue Raid Miotero quien se presto: fara Macierto. Fos detalles pobre Todo esto sen variados y obvian en este enfreme, plas hay que haces notas que limbo muchos merdentes of errores por juste de Todos los que ibans os partacipai in la maion. El 10 de abril de 1968 Palmer de la Condad de metico, Tes adalberts fara Bamos, Paul Moseno, Carlos Perzabal of affer min persidos, pues la serora Teresa, fosada desis tri dil maje debido a que estaba embarazada of al Counders peligioso para ella. Ulmante el Tragecte y a la allura te Matiga Remeno Oajaca, debido a la alta velacidad a que Condercia Unorlas Il autoriorel, sufraires vin aparatoso aca dente que dejo seramente danado el automoral al llegas a Tantola Raul resoreus leabli per Telefonous con se

forme à pois métasment del accidente of prodige que le pédien volumera pries ou padre Lichen omfridam mejarta Condiaco - Un Todas Ninsko mos llera learta Dan Constabil, deske donde mostros Continuariamos el viage Carlos Pez dal llevala Consigo mas pullo-Carinis de JAR un prenas en la un prenta del De Amanuel Marcui Pardinas, las que l'abia roultado lutre las paginos de unas menitas de modas, pero denna modo Tan visible que oro Cremos oponimientos las ellevirsa. Al ellegas a les attitude Cindad Curlinternoc en me Toxi de alqueles priceanne a dicumentamos pasa el paso a fortemala. La Credential que se el choró que tenala. pari fina Bamo finaciono perfectamente y le fue dade un permiso para vingo en lugar Equationala valité par Tres mises. En ese lugar of dade que no liabramos Terrido deficulta l' algung para no entospeces muestro mormon. To Tanto Lara Bamo Cemo youle peternos a Penabal que no ellevasa las nevistas, a la que accidio dipositandolas la rua l'anacq Errea de la frontera usada Conso letrura. El paso se luis sin deficulta d'apa

minte salo que fan Bamo Alha chilicar un pirmine del Cencul de graizmala, Tram te mond para Todos las Trinstas. El Consulado de Gratanda que debena funcionar en Camitan o Code de Ceralistamos, se encuentra pos extoran as ornores en la merilla, dento del Timton quatienaltéco. Lara Barrio ce presonnt Tanto neviso Ouando acridino sal Consul para il pismiso, mismo que este extendió Bin difrienttad. No abstante pensamos que el niversione de Jana Barris le provots alfing Or petha misma que le time la lice Ornit Chafter dil Toute que min predo le ablevo Labo Je las aniondades qualemalteens (con prois Je halus ondo delinido) mos mostrason Jas resistas dande Pengal al habra secondido las publicationes de FAR, of que vole pudem Mills ondo obtenidas por el Censul apriza proportionalis por il Chafer del Taxi que No llevo, mans de Consitain n'a que esté durante el Trapecto Mes liable de su arrestail con el Consul of Rejurendelle al pula das Cuenta de Iqui ali norpechoros dejo per da lu la banica.

En la mesilla, despuis de passer la adecensa de estero présente el Concul, abordames ilma l'amienita de pasoreros rumbo a Huilicetan Go pero al er en esta mos dimos cuenta que Este seno mos rebasó en su automorel. Al Meson a la Grantie de mis piccèn en el Cimpannier o El CABLE" frien quintime de la principalité de diche consul quien ordens principalités de diche consul quien ordens al oficial mos pricemmenta. Centes de lingas de la Carrièreta y al darrio colenta De que habra problema, fara Barrio me lentrezo rena dene de documento que illevaba (ranges Te autenties, Cedula de velendad ete.) mano que por fortuna pudrino Alsapamecer antes del registro que el oficial Nico
recer antes del registro que en entre las
ficialiticis derpues, echandolos por entre las
lindedicis as de la banaca famo.

Cada al donde mos encerrason. Pos desgracia al practicassenos menel segistas, a Carlos Perzabal le fueron. enternadas un par de botas noviéticas, una entrenesta inchnelusa Con mestor Valle, and Camet de la universidad de la Habanan etro decumento. a partis

di ill moment queland q a sporten del execto supensudo que serianos asecuados. West Campandato el "Cable" dune Inalakados per la policia millitar Charber. lante a ctro Campaminto en el publico de Brens aires en il llépto. de Huchene-Tenanço, El Toursporte se lingo en un Carrier de Carga que nos llevé primero a Handwettenande donde Perzabal fue brevenente interrozado por un Coro-al quien nor dije gut Derianis fusila los. Chi el poblado de Buenos aires friendo riterrigades of maltritades durante Toda la moche, la unterrogatoria fuesan pelled por reparado. al did orquente. Junis Tousladados a quatemila en un avon de las FAG # 540, queen fue enviado por el ministro de la Miferna, mieno que mo recebro en el'acreomiente mulitar la moche del dia 14. Todaria dentro del array a 19 Luill Campo, Ambro a borde de écle un

moterner care con unto me militas Al manera violenta si je me llamaba Oil aireoprats militar, frimos Trasladales at nº Creopo de la policia (Persolales 30 en mai Camioneta, fara en my Jelp) don. Elicenia. de Jums incommicales en las bartalimas de la celda "400." Unsante vanas noche primes sometides at the Esty mis itanis a mer frant la prescupation que Teman. En la celda 400, estaban mesos algunos mulmilios de las FAR Is hernands de Leon Barros (prim José of Minnelle de Como el Conscilo por a ciballita, agusado del atentado a la base mili-Tas de "los Capresalci" y mnembro destacado di las FAR. a estos companeros Java Bamos informe con détaille de la que mos Subra Micedido. El dia 20 de abril pudino el envior claudestanance le a la prolessa ima mota escrita en uma Caja vacia de Cigamos que publico

il Ciano "El Grafico" el dia 21 de abril. Postellandine frimo visitados por el Consul de Mexico al Mia signiente, lnotande asill primes intento de asesinato Centra mosotros. Para Barnis para interices liabra side riderit ficade ya Como Gratemathecis. al liacese publica meest galetienoisi Vas autondades Gudamaltecas simientason nu délité réparier la Cridad y finnes Consignados por esto a un pregado para Dis conjetos a un pricio Eg 26 de abril frams Trasladades al Campo de Cericentralien 4 Granja Pond Paron en prina Culada bondo También ila el " celistita" of posiblemente fara, Barrios a quela défamés de nes el des que funis consignados y Trasladados a la Crupa general. En et Cammo a Prom desapareces celeblita a Gunen olgan et parte paliciaco, "secrestia. fon sus companeros pero que face

isenuals por la policia. Ele Cama Penal Peron Illiganis en Companiel de les liennemes de floir Bamos Comment freson mustin Companiera desante formeres que alle permanetano y donde fudi Con cas mas a fondo la realidad de Chiateinala if establices Contactos para Dequis Trabajando postenosmente Ulmante isos misis (Casi 7) time uma. Sintelia Comminicación Con estos do mucha-Cho, quients per ans Condicience, pridicion explicame la rerdadera ntuación de Les FAR en rélacion Con la situación geneas millians hacis notas que en ese ral del pais Timpo estaban réclardos alli 9 miembros del FGT esperando la sententra de las Imbruales. El réprésentante del grupo, 7 co Corado, era quien administrata los Jondos que recibia para repartur entre los présos políticos, fondos de los cualos no aporto minea mada a mingun premba de las FAR. Cuando mosotros liegamos Trato de acimilano, per Enando ejo le

And viens de "Trotzicista", actuación que mentrado me linciona and unestigation en respect por parte de puserosa espisa Teresa Sosada. Por ou parte las FAR lucreson le mismo Ceristatande que n's me pestancer a annyma Opropo of Teammando así Con uma Deteración mélesta que ce habin Generado. Camidida que par el Tiens for fin Vialnende amenstad personal Con est. muchallio Japais entonces no leabour pédide, para envirer a la dirección de FAR reministance a cada rens de acrotres de la Contro llerteron a quatemala. De manera franca y abilità quien deler que Carlos Perzabal (quen en muelas Existention Ce pois bren) en este cason oculté la merdades motives de mos-Ina letención. Por fortiena ej gralicio dera Barro Elle de personalmente por Conduite del 1 Cebollita of lis

Elimens de Leon, detont de Converan. me ne obligade a mencionas esto, ja que d'injustre del Tecemps que estrerenses Luciorcelación, la tamina Ba. Teresa Porada nj la Almera mama de Renzafal aci Circo el m. manuel mascué Dandinas, mipagason falses informis la Caritora de mipagason falses informis la Caritora de mi esposa, laculidala aparecer como « delatora" agente de la Cia, etc. etc. m. fleridos (regimen ente para ventas respon. patilidades of problèmes de indolé pessonal que minen deliceson mezclas. Per la que a coto respecta & estay dus priesto a distindar responsatridades frente. à elle, oi es que nusisten en esa poricion.

Imprésientes lin « CEBOLLITA "

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faita de Com dencie atribue de por las FARA Enta en la mablimas nuteros Ai Critibarala; midilido sevo de la fonda miporcienades, etc. Contrea a los en edos limitedes in da Haliana; Grenenes al regolons no de satépatem à la réalidad. de las Milinidadis di las FAR. Ditmainen aiteul de FAR. anagna, laita di offan govern, debretamilito, illimentes porcesso. Con contrissiones per sin formación i de eloquer correcta J modis materiales. Un professional de FAR "percube un primede de 940.00 al mes para ontralago. Fattalicumento del Gobierio, expancioni dil agricit. Con la arpida de USA. Mil-Citamentos de las Grumlla de mentaria que alligan tel Tralique en la Crisdad (quinillas risbanas) que motiva a una represión Cada regmas fisiste y Contraproducente.

Mestor Velle, Efigenio, Cabellita el Mestor Velle, Efigenio, Cabellita el Bareo, ete dibidas a fatta de os gangs-Cim de media ni al firtaliammento de Un ficação represens.

* Macinalismo spratamattero que rectionmia aipida directa en el ceretido de participrecin activa firo estranjeros, ellos me entrenprecin activa firo estranjeros, ellos me entrenprecin activa firo estranjeros, que este tupo de
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Tica por regones de ser eliapaneco y Tenor
Ajenidades entrales de anos con ello.

Wistitución de Césas Monites pos motorio de haber estado mucho Trémpo motorio de haber estado mucho Trémpo prima oj cro antegrasse qua la lucler en el momento micisario; impressón que se momento micisario; impressón que se mentinale in matemala de algunos elementos matemateiro que hace talmos viven quatimateiro que hace talmos viven matemateiro que hace talmos

Entercier Gereral: Munite les dies que persuineer en la Celda 400 dil 1º Chupe de policia Trong opertrandad de Cambring New polarieres, Con Rolando Ontag " Cebolli -Tut nebsela Citacion general de quaterida es plentinte de FIR. per aquel lestances Cesar brontes no lidra Ondo destatundo y se renerat à rena Carer-pois de Terrible repression por parte del gabrerso. le Organente: la division sentre PGTM. FAR proviés rina atuaisen dificil pero algibres prisien. les dil PGT rémuciaron a este à pasason a las filas de FAR, amque Teoricamente el PGT dici apayar la fincha asmada l méliere mille desponer de Contingentes en la montana (grad de garapa?) le lierte es que montana (grad de garapa?) le lierte es que en le num provida mas la división y mo apoya en lo num provida mas la división y mo apoya en lo num provida mas la división y mo apoya en lo num provida mas la linea de FAR, esto es a quandes Magis Ma que la détalles bon bren conscribés. En limin Tiempos el PGT mata de abondar marent des dende gention. Com: exemple del la primerer que presencie en Pavoir, donde al réprésentante del PGT Trataba de ganas oughto extre la polar pertenecienta a FAR

Ofilère delle anadá l'Comme a l'insidiendo en ale De linea ("Ki det AR) la le guivoca en one this repection. Cel sir mombrado Mon Dosa Coman Pante General de la pesala que el propo 13 de moriembre de agla Tinara. En esta lin Teoria esta calutrination se llevo a cato, poro de la praetica se la dimestrado que este les comostrado que este como compo corque actuando por an enenta anaisamcamente. Todas estas Concientariones, divisiones, falta la organización de palta de madries nación gick etc. han Traido par Conscenencia un débilitamente de la lucha armada un quatimala. a leste contribuig el fortale-Constite Cada des accompt de las fices as reprecises abra de la mosteamentano. Un isporte d'ampado Con las asmas mas modermas a asesorado y entrenado por ellos, Cen-trala lada cue mas la contración la la montaina. La Consiencia de Todo esto lis si de la richementication de la querrelle Unbana. Les proinis de FAR lean Terrido que bajos a la Cirdad y hacen lifuerza discoplacides per amirquiers prom

det Contagodor y rain muching never, merre Train Consideration mé atmas, in que las ficients montensifican la repré-ficient de l'action de Con Cuadros valions y milion. Mon alcabando Con Cuadros valions y milion. Mon alcabando Con Cuadros valions y milion. Till muy grandes, la muerie de Mester Valle, Chigenie, la de Carrielo en la Cindad etc. lean dibilitade ann una las réviences de TAR, puca Par especiales Encrustancias que ling al pustituées de estos cuadros. La fatta de Jondos para financiamiento es uno de los moblemens mas Grandes, puès actualmente Mobilemens Tiene que Conseguese a brase de asaltes a Imprecas comerciales, dands por resultado muchas alles, que por conseguir. puna Dientidad plefulna lum minesto vario En mis charles con les herinación de Merchelesnario. Lin Barrio Re me lino notat el sentra do negativo que algunos dopretos de la arqueda Enbann réprésenta. De Contrés dinamente a les enderes que se formation alla, pries sefrindelen, en la ville a refle, lingre estanchio en linka se madaptakan

a li vialidad anatematteen or munida a on multa Careflector a neces serio. El Egenplo prin Canineto es el récente caso de Cesar mentes, destrituide per me feablese millesporade a Ou realidad de el momente rellesario. Con Opr Tamala existe un frette malionalis. mis; por este la goneres de FAR rechique Oristo Tapa de ayuda procedente de Chiba; a l'abla micho elli entre elles de fraçases ellendo prelos Ciadros formados alla J Will At the Column Oupristo of reconscion To Entrano de aigndarlos milluso con lismbols. Por alira, liablando francamente, la lucha la Guaternala de la délakitado. for golpes putidos han vido muchos of fuertos of the extrema review in ma revortanza-MANARAMAN Vinc de la comarquetto mais meclesario jara el desarrollo de la lucter asmada

in quetimale es una mayor comprensión de l'il motorier interna de les pais, y préstor pir la Consignente la arguda mas adeluada. Es mindade qui el la jortale cumente de entaliche sera a la go plazo, pero para ella. entalicità sera a la ayuda sea mas efectiva y realista, de acuerdo Con las opiniones de Lo presencios de Hon Barros, ellementos Milenio proè intensiastas y valicos, attetitille processiones protestitationes de la Tratagan de la Servicio de milengencia, atro at asternimientos. ys Tings que seguir tralagando Mittelle En las FAR, la especial situacion de Arréfico, uns expériencies personales of la Contranza lour elles me deposit an han luche que mantenga min contacto, esper rando par estos dias la llegada de uma pérona mui responsable que me busca-pa con el nombre de PAVEL, para seguin Tratajancio en un sentido positivo.

Barrier Equalitation Francisco Garlesto antecedentes En Verly 60 of for Conducto de Calo Persabel Anarene, istable a Contacto con F. a. S. Barris maternettico quen segun se me informo, era pagandy en esta cindad. Lava Barrio Tema récesidad de liaces un viajo a quatemala, peso dada on ortunción de exilado político no podia waan mar el pais en forma legale of por ese abandonar el pais en forma legale of por ese abandonar el pais en pidio apuda, ya que prissipar por Tener Conocimiento de la region mis del pais jademas un pequeno mesocio Estableirdo en Dan Unitabal las Casas estaba lu pontrilidad de llivar a fara Barrio hosta Cintraries de varias plataças Terridas la Cirdad de quatemala Can el pe llego à la Conclusion de que polnamos ademas de realizar dicho migo haltr alymos movimentos que Inveran por finalidad poestas ma aspeda efecJui intencés que se élabors un p m, cuya réali-présen quidan à aujeta à la aproducion de ellmen-Je desetworder épatemala. Inicialmente esto plan Consistra en el establicamento de un me-Opér de impresenes on Honduns; es décir Istadios las pontulidades en esé paro paré. provites una pequena maquin de offsett profi elitar un Telegura que prediera Dervie en otro puses Centramericanos maline Opentermente Jasa Barris Terris Construmen. To de site Tipo de negocio, ja que cogina me response, habis Trad grado ants en varior Companias de publicidad. El motoro principal de esto era el de colabovar para olitener, por esos medicos, annag financiera para las FAR. Con esa inten-Crim y desde antes, no liabra montale as In Non Cristabal de las Casas, Chiapas, pri me (o cio osistables de un presiones pengraficas con la ragon Dotal de A EMARDEL de Dan Cristabal Para realizat el viage se plusa prom en varia de las posibilidades más Delpriss. La mejot, dade la argundad Que proposcionaba, la Conse qui

décimentaism Muticana par faire. Par el efecto élabore, con la mayor profession posible une Credencial de maiestro de la SEP, para abilinia made en la frontera. En les villemes deux centres de realizar deche maje og ga Temendo Todo preparacho, dans Barros sul informo que Carlos Perzebal of De papiera Teresa Posada quenan acom paramoppues Teman moder the tember pasais. Como la crituacion que esto plan. Teaba era dificil me opuse al vrage de Octa personas, pero Jara Barrio des pumers. To que Terrien neclesidades de entrevistar Con motros periodisties à algunes perso. Nalidades en quaternala. Sas discursiones al respecto se prolongas varos dias pues no en Conveniente myclar des tipo de Traligo lu un viage que de por si Tema sus resign; pos entonces angieron vario suconvenientes que m que metrasante diche viaje, une de elle fue que fara Barrio - Halles Opmen en el encarjado de la numon se lune accidentalmente la prema con A una pistola calibre 25 al liaces

esta Causa prina prietrea de mo, of otro que p pur medio mas cilitado, fin la que tol allumed from parte a Consequir que una persona de Cerfringa mollivara en antonovil Mason aiche persena fue Rand Moters quien as presto fan Maierto, for altalles Dabre Todo esto som variados of obvian en este enforme, pero hay que l'acès notas que limbo muclios riscidentes partie de Todos los que il ans os pertaciper en les amision. El 10 de abril de 1968 valuis de la. Cintad de méxico, Tes adallierto fara Bamos, Mail Morrisono, Carlos Perzabal y affer un persidos, pues la sevora Teresa, fitsada desis tro del naje debido a que estaba embarazada of al Counders piligroso para ella. Winante el Tragecto of a la allura de Matiga Romero Oajaca, debido a la alta velocidad a que Condisera Mortens Il autoriovil, sufrinos um aparatiro aca derte que dejo seramente danado el automoril. Al llegas a Tantola Raul Messeus liabli por Tellefanono con su

forme a post a formar del ac dente of Carding que le pédien volunira pries ou padre fillen mifrido un refinte condiaco. Les Todos resto no lles leaste Dan Cristolial, diste dende mostro Continuaramos el vraje Carlos Pendal llevala Consigo unas publi-Carinis de 8TAR rimpresas en la unipresita del Dr. Manniel Marcui Pardinas, las que l'abra reultado entre las paginos de unas revisias de modas, pero de un modo Tan visible que no Esternos o portuniques de las attachas de las a Cindad Curlinternoe en me Tux de alqueles proceamo a dicumentamos pasa el paso matemala. Ja Credencial que se elaboro para fara Bamos finciono perfectamente by li fue dade un permiso para vingre en lugar Egnationala volit: per Tres meses. En ese lugar of dade que en lealiamos Terrido deficultal alginay para no entospeces miestro momen. To, Tanto Lara Bamo Como youle peternios a Pinabal que no ellevara las revistas, a la que accidio de positandolas en nun l'anacq Orca de la frontira mada Como letrina. El paso se luizo sin deficulta d'apasinte salo que las Barrio d'in obliger, un pission del Cincul de Gratierala, Trami. to comal para Todas la Trenstas. El Consulado de Gratienala que dibena funcionar en Cemitan o Card. Cualretternoc, se encuentra pos extoran as romenes en la menella, dento del Timtono quaternalteco. Lara Barrio se priso mo Tanto verviso Ouando acidemis al Consul para il pismo, mons que este extendió Bin deficultad. No abstante pensamos que el nemiorimo de Jana Barrio la provocó aljens Ovopicha misma que le los diables Con il Clasfordel Torte jouen predo le ablevo lada

con il Clasfordel Torte jouen predo le ablevo lada

for las aniondades qualerral telus (con presos

to las aniondades qualerral telus (con presos de halus vido delinidos) mos mostraron Las renistas dande Rizalal habin secondido las publicariens de FAR, of que vols pudiern lible vido obtenidas por el consul quiza proporcionalas per il Chafer del Taxi que No llevo, in gree Tomans en Comitain, Ma que este durante el Trupecto Mos liable de su amentad con el consul pregnamente al pur la das cuenta de Iqui "also" porpechoro de de por persolal en la Banala.

En la mesile, después de pasa. La aduana de estres présente el Concul, abordamos inna Camienta de parageros numbo a Hudruetena. Go pero alir en esta mos dimos cuenta que iste seno mos rebasó en su automont. Al llegas a la Ganta de un piecen en el Virriparrierto El CABLE" frim amentemidade. presentationes de dicho consul quien ordeno les oficial mos incommensa. Centes de Linges de lig Carminate pol darus cuenta de que liabra problema, Jara Barrio me luties o rena déne de documentes que illevala (rangente autentice, cedula de mecudad ete mismo que por fortuna pudimo desaparece antis del registro que el oficial nico.
rece antis del registro que el oficial nico.
machici diminio, ecliandolos por entre las
lindedinas di la banaca frechasa.
Cada ofte donde mos encerrason. Pro despació al marticassenos mul registro, à Cirlo Perzatal de finison encentradas un par de botas soviéticas, und entreusta inchnelusa Commestor Valle, in fanit de la Mintersidad de la Habanagotro decumento. a pati

de le menen. quelans que sprien del Went Campainento el Cable " denni o Tradakados per la policio richelas Cumbinlante a etro Campaminto en el poblado de Brieno aires Un il llépto. Le Hueline. Timanço. El Toursporte se lingo en un Camer de Carga que moller primers a Handwettenande Konde Perzabal fue brevenense interrigade por um Coronel amen nos dijs que seriamos fusilados. Chi el poblake de Buenos aires pinnos raterrigales y maltritades durante Toda la moche, los unterrogatoros fuesan pieles por separado. al dis organiste. frumes Tousladades a gratemela en un avoir de las FAG # 540, queen tue envices pos el ministro de la Wifima, mismo que mis recibro en el al réopriente militar la moche del dia 14. Todaria destro del arron, aga Luill Campo, Embro a bordo de este un

Moternence o can unifi me militas Millitatiffffly queen me pregnento Ol manera violenta si jo me llamaba C'freenis. All olikopieto militar, frimos Trasladades al nº Cirespo de la policia (Persibiles Jo des nina Carrisoneta, fara en un gelp) don. de Jumos incommicados en las hartolinas de la celda "400: Cusante vans midella frimo sometidos a total de Estal interrogatorio. Chierres d'anico, a quievis ibarres hour grantela prercupation que Teman. En la Celda 400 estaban preso alguno membro de las FAR, In hernanos de Leon Barros (pran Jose) M mignel, un Como et Consciles por a cebollita", La açusado del atentado a la base mich. Tas de "la Ciprécalci" y membre distacale de las FAR. a estos companeros Java Bamos informe con détalle de la que mos fratia succedide. El dia 20 de abril proteins se enviar claudestrumente a la probusa una nota escrita en una cala problèce de Cigarios que publico

el Chiano "El Carafico" el dia 11 de abril. Por elle motivo framos mentados por el Consul de México al clia signiente, lnotando asiel primes intento de asasina. to Centra mosotros. l'asa Barnis pasa intericia liabra sida identificado ya Como qualematteco. al l'accese publica meestig détendren las autoridades qualimalteras simentason valu las Calles de la Cricade j fumos Consignades par esto a un projado para Des conjetos a un pricio: Et 26 de abril frams Trasladades al Campo de Concentration " Cranja Road Pavoni lu 12:14 Cuerda donde lambien ila el "celestita" of posiblemente fara Barris Consignado of Inasladados
que furmis Consignados y Inasladados å la Compa general. En El Camino a Poron desapurecció a celibellita a Gusen Olgan et parte policiaco, "secuestra. von sus companeros pero que fue

asenuals por a policin. Elika Granja Penal Paran Elizania en Campania of la lilaman de fear Barris quines freeon miestros Companieros durante hude Con oces mas, g fondo la real dad de misternalar postablecer Contactos para Dequis Trabajando postenomente Ulmante esos miser (Casi 7) time uma Josechy Commicación Con estos do mucha-Chos, quienes pos ous Condiciones, midilion explicame la verdadera ntuación de Las FAR en relacion Con la situación general del pais as nécesare hacis notas que en exe Timpolitaban reclindos alli 9 miembros del PGT esperando la sentencia de las Imbinales. El representante del Grupo, FCO Corado, era quien administrata los Jondos que recibia para repartir entre Los presos políticos, fondos de los cuales no aposto miner mada a mingum premiso de las FAR. Cuando mosotros liegameda Trato de asimilamos, pero Enande de le

lije que esto per roto kista" alusation que en parta do motive per parte de l'eszaballé me dicesa, prisenora espisa Terisa Sosada. Por ou parte las FAR lucrison la miemo Cantalando que no mes pestanecia a nongon apropo of lesmonando aci. Con una situación molesta que de habia Generado. a midida que personal Con estes Iracrento comerstad personal Con estes muchallie fing entonces no habran pédido, para Emisar a la disección de FAR. muniforme a Cada une de acostros de las Control de les Estron a Guardemala. Ce manera franca y alibra quiero dellis que Carlos Perzabal (quen en muchas Encuretantement Ce pois been) en este casos élulté le misdades en obres de muss-Ina detendion. Por fortuna of gracias Jana Barro att and peronalmente pir Conducto del & Cebollita of las

l'amens de leon, lotosofa l'Emocian. mane obligade a mencioner este, ja qui diniente el Tuemps que estimino Lucarcelados, la faire Dra. Teresa Posada nj la cenera mama de Penzafal au Conso Il m. manuel masteré Dar Linas, pripagason falso informis la Caritora de mi coposa, laccundala upareces como " delatora" aquite de la Cia, etc. etc. inilicina regnamente para ocultas respon. patilidades of por problemas de indolo pesenal que minea deliceson mezclas. Asi Missonie Cinero degas bien Claso que por la que a do To respetta E estar dis priesto a distindar responsationades frente. à ello, or es que rissoten en est posicion.

Amprésieres les « CEBOLLITA »

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fulta de Comprensione atribu de parkas FAR à liba en la problèmas sutem s Al Gratelmala Fridebide 1 con de la fondes miprocessados, etc. entrea a los enclos finicias luda Halana; quienes al regresas no ce untegaban a la realidad de las Milindadis de las FAR. Primainer actual de FAR. anagun, latta de organización, delalitamilito, illimento prieno con con mino Jen sin formalien illeologier lorseels medis materiales un profesional de FAR "percibe un primedio deq 40.00 al mes par outalians Fattalicumento del Gobierio, expansion dil Cognette Con la arqueda de USA. . Willa Citamientos de las Grumlla ell mentana que alligan al Toulogo en la Ciridad (premilles disbanas) que moliva a ring represion Cada veg mas friente y Contraproducentt.

Risdada de madrios vale são Mistor Valle, Efigenie, Cevelleta " el Bareo, 2Te. Albidas a latta de os ganga-Even de medies ij al firtalienminte de des ficezas represents. * Macionalismo spratamatica que rechezden per ese macionalismo, Gere este tapo al inspida es mecessaria a veces para el desanollo de la Per. l'atino amencana, ninaceron, que no de plantad en mi caso gralia, a la Einfrensissi de la mentalidad quaternal. Tien per rezones de ser clarapaneed y Tenor éfinidades enturales de anos consellos. Wistrituieur de Césas Montes pos motore de haber estado mucho Trempo ficina ej me antigrasse q la lucha en el mominite nilisarie; impresion que se Tuendin Grathmala de alguns elementes quatimatiens que liace taemps viven za Buba.

TACSPESSION PROCESSING ACTION SECRET BARKET FOR INDEXING Guef of Station, hexico City BO DECK NG REQUIRED 2 3 AUFED DESK Unief, Kestern immisphere Division EAN ATICE INDEXING Chief of Station, Guatemala City Perlandar/LIRING-3 Operation ACILA REGISED: For Lexico City, please see Paragram 3 KEFERENCES : A. IBAN-35905, 27 Novemer 1968 B. 1894-55904, 27 November 1968 1. Quaterala City has the following information on Oscar Loized HOLDAN Espiroza, wao is undoubtedly identifiable with the escar Hoises HOLLAN E. who sent one of the letters to ilking-3 forwarded with Peference A: FOLIAN was arrested by the function intimol Police in II in, into, along with one Oscar Folundo ISIADA Aldana, after robbing a taxi driver of his car. In his interrogation by the Gastemalan authorities, Kolika admitted to being a member of the hebel Armed Forces (FAR). He stated that the car was to have been used for a kidnapping, but he refused to name the target of the planned kidnap attempt. Gote: William named "CAMILO" (deceased FAR leader Carlos Francisco ONIONEZ Pontesgudo), "ARMNIO" (unidentified FAR orian kesistance leader), "JADE" (Luis Felipe CARVAJAL, FAR Urban Resistance leader) and Fercy Amilcar JACOBS de Lean, azong others, as har members with whom he was in contact. This would test to indicate that FOLDAN was an important militant in the FAR broam Resistance Front.) According to information available to the Station, HALDAN was consigned to the courts. He apparently was later sent to il favon prison, where he met Likhu-3. A check of the files of diguel and Juan Jose de LECN Earrios shows that the home address given by them to the police was the same as the return address on the letter sent to LIRING-3 by "larta," the mother of the de LEGN brothers. Distribution: 2-005, Hexico City 2-C/量业 CS COPY DISPATOR SHIEGE AND NUMBER CE DIRECTO 22000 HGGA- 9697 13 December 1968 CLASSFI'ARCE

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CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH

HOGA- 9697

SEC R E T

- 3. Guatemala City notes in the letter which LIRING-3 received from the mother of the de 110% brothers reference to greetings being sent from "Riguel, Elsa, La Megra, La Chaquita, Pelisa, Paria Llena, and La Coroita." It is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for any details he can provide to further identify these individuals and any information he knows as to the FAR roles of these individuals. Laually, it is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for similar information on MCLIAN, whom he apparently hnew as "Espinoza." Finally, Guatemala City will be greatly interested in all of the information LIRING-3 can provide on "PAVEL," including a full physical description, if and then he is put in contact with this individual. Since "PAVEL" is supposed to be a "gemmine FAR representative," he may well turn out to be "Javier Contreras," or the MIGULL" known to MEANCAR-1.
- 4. Per Paragraph 3 of Reference B, Guatemala City feels that it would be best to wait until LIRING-3 received a clear idea of Roat, if any, role he is to be given by LIRING, before any further direct discussions are necessary between Guatemala and Mexico City. As discussed during TORNAT's recent visit, Guatemala City's interests would be best served if LIRING-3 can convince his LIRING contacts that he is now ready to help in PERLAIN's efforts to support the FAR, that because of his poor financial position he will in the future be forced to work in a controlled fashion for LIRING, and that because of the contacts which he established with FAR leaders during his Guatemalan imprisentable to trace of the single health of the FAR and been put into direct contact with the FAR support network in Mexico City, as he has been provised, we should have a clearer idea to what extent the FAR itself plans to utilize LIRING-3.
- 5. Guatemala City awaits with interest the results of LIRING-5's further discussions with LIRING.
- 6. For headquarters: A separate dispatch will be forwarded containing the imformation available to the Station on WillAN.

Leonard S. TORNET

FORM SEA 530 USE PREVIOUS EDITION.

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. LORANDUM OF GRAL COMMITMENTS

FTTACHMENT HMAA-30908

29 November 1968 : Chief. Finance Division 70 : Contract Approving Officer Chief of Station, Mexico City FROM SUBJECT: Ingagement of <u>LIRING-3</u> as Independent Contractor 1. TERM AND PROJECT CHARGE: The Subject individual has been engaged under oral contract for use under Project LIRAVINE and is chargeable to LIRAVINE.

The effective date of the oral contract is 1 December 196 8 subject to termination by ODYOXZ upon 30 days' actual notice. 2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type______. Date_____195___. 3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (XX) is () is not a foreign national. 4. COMMENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this amount in POPAINZ correcty is 320.00 dollars. Subject () will Inc approximate (XX) will not receive a Christmas bonus equivalent to _ . Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None 5. TAXES: Subject () is (*) is not subject to PEFRIME income taxes. If subject to PAPRINE income taxes, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner: 6. QUARTERS AND/OR SUBSISTENCE: (a) Subject () will (x) will not be furnished quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regardin additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters 7. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (x) will () will not be reimbursed for operational cravel. (b) Subject (x) will () will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed: operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses 8. CONTINGENT COLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYOKE. Give reason for each contingent obligation: No commitments other than those stated above have been made to Contract Approving Officer REVIEWED: Ken. 7.1969 DISTRIBUTION: 3 Authentic copies of Hqs 1 - File P- 12729 Special Contracting Officer 1 - Support

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ATTACHMENT HINDA-30908

29 November 1968

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MEMORANDUM OF GRAL COMMITMENTS

70 : Chief. Finance Division
VIA : Contract Approving Officer
FROM : Chief of Station, Mexico City
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SUBJECT: Ingagement of <u>LIRING-3</u> as Independent Contractor
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2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type
3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (xx) is () is not a foreign national.
4. COMPENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this assumt in PERKIE currency is 320.00 dollars. Subject () will (XX) will not receive a Christmes bonus equivalent to Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None
5. TAXES: Subject () is (X) is not subject to PERRIME income taxes. If subject to PERRIME income taxes, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner:
quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regarding additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters expenses: 7. CPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (x) will () will not be reimbursed for operational travel. (b) Subject (x) will () will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed:
operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses.
8. CONTINGENT OBLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYCKE. Give reason for each contingent obligation:
9. No commitments other than those stated above have been made to the subject.
SIGNED Wallace B. ROWTON
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CLASSIFICATA PROCESSING ACTIO DISPATCH SECRET MARKES FOR INDEXIN NO INCESTING REQUIRED Chief, WH Division ONLY COMUFIED DESK CAN AUTOSE INDEXING Chief of Station, PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 Transmittal of Cuban "Literary" Pamphlet ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES DCC. M'CTO, SE Action Required: FYI 1. Forwarded under separate cover is an issue of a supposedly "literary" Cuban publication containing two short essays by the Salvadorian poet and writer Roque DALTON. The first of these essays is dedicated to LIRING-3. The interesting thing is that LIRING-3 was at that time imprisoned in Guatemala. The essay may thus be viewed as a tribute to "a suffering supporter of the cause." 2. Roque DALTON (201-215097) is, according to the files of the Station, an agent of the Cuban Intelligence Service engaged in clandestine activities for the Communist Party of El Salvador. DALTON spent some time in Czechoslovakia and is now living in Cuba. He is the brother of Margarita DALTON (201-751261), whom the Cuban IS recruited to work in Mexico. LIRING-3 got to know PALTON in Havana in 1962-63 and became a close friend of his (see HMMA-32283, 19 June 1967). DALTON at one point confided to LIRING-3 that he had been approached by WOFIRM while incarcerated in El Salvador. 3. The Station is hoping that DALTON's essay is an indication that LIRING-3 is going to be viewed by the Cuban's in much better light after his incarceration in Guatemala. A report of LIRING-3's complete debriefing by ROWTON was forwarded with HMMA-35904, 27 November 1968. for Williard C. CURTIS Attachment: Magazine (1), u/s/c Distribution: Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 1 copy) CS CAPY Ac atti DISPATCI: SYMBOL AND NUMBE B201-215077 HMMA - 3591529 November 1968 Evelyd:: HOS FREE SELE 4247 1: 17 874 CLASSIFICATION 201-798301 SECRET

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TO : Chief, WH Division

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

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SECRET

Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez · Alberto Moravia · Jacques Charriere · Charles Bettelheim · Roque Dalton · José Leza ma Lima · Cmidte. Jorge Serguera

ENTREMESES JAPONESES

Director Artístico ROLANDO FERRER

> Escenografía RAUL OLIVA

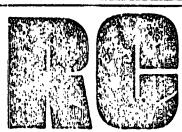
Vestuario MARIA ELENA MOLINET

Conjunto de Arte Teatrall LA RUEDA

SALA HUBERT DE BLANCK Calzada entre A y B / Vedado

este número:

La Industria azucarera, analizada dentro del contexto histórico de Cuba, es el tema del trubajo PROMETEO ROMPE UNA CADENA del Comandante-Jorge-Serguera • OUE ES LA PRAXIS? de Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, capítulo de su libro Filosofía de la Praxis, editado en México, Sánchez Vázquez es profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Autónoma de México. y autor de diversos trabajos filosóficos: Marxismo y Existencialismo, Las ideas estéticas de Marx, etc., este último libro ha sido publicado en Cuba por el Instituto del Libro • BASE ECONOMICA Y SUPERESTRUCTURAS IDEO-LOGICAS de los economistas franceses. Charles. Bettelheim y Jacques. Charriere, este trabajo forma parte del libro. La construcción del Socialismo en China, publicado en México por la editorial ERA • LA PALMA DE LA MANO, poema del cubano José Lezama Lima (Dador, Versos Orficos, Parradiso). Lezama Lima trabaja en el Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística de la Academia de Ciencias • LA CASA DE CARLOS y PRIMAVERA EN JEVA-NI, textos del poeta salvadoreño Regue Dalton. (El turno del ofendido poesía). DEBATE, entre el escritor Alberto Moravia y cinco estudiantes italianos. Este debate fue organizado por L'E-presa, de Roma, y en él se penen de manifiesto las contradicciones existentes entre la actual generación de intelectuales. y la anterior, de la que forma parte el escritor Moravia.



REUOLUSEON V GOLTURA REVISTA BIMENSUAL

Mayo 15 de 1968

Número 10

"Año del Guerrillero Herolco"

Director: Lisandro Otero Secretaria de Redacción:

Rebeca Chávez

Impresa por el Instituto del Libro, Unidad Productora Nº 11, La Habana, Cuba Telf : 80 1820 Territorio Libre de América

Preclo por ejemplari 20 civa.



Cuando aquel aparato comenzó con su ruido atronador a echar paja por detrás, enna en trozos por el costado izquierdo, humo per arriba y cortalia hojas verdes y cogolto, alante, lineia la izquierda; alguien dijo: il's barbaro! Se habia realizado un sueño que tenia 100 años. Parece our le va a llegar la hora de museo al machete. Pero todavia taltu; abera hay que construir muchas e sobre todo me. jeraria, Hay que petentaria nara que lodo el mundo porda usarla y uno solo no se enriquezen con el trabaje de tedos: la patente revelucionaria.

La esclavitud fue sustituida por el co-Ionato, Una especie de servidambre que se hizo tan común en muestro país que cualquiera se hublese asombrado de que asi no fuese. Cuando di precio nunicaiaba en el mercado mundad la alegría del cubano hacia carnaval y se enfrentaba a una danza de millores. Cumelo leciaise el preclo del naúcir la tasa de ercelmiento do muertes aumentaba por vio del sulci-dio como ocuertó en 1930-1932. Si habia paz entre nuciones poderesas hubia cri-sis económica en Cuba, si habia guerra, prosperidad. Asi Mellmente puede Inferirae que la base del progresse estaba en la guerra. Teoria muy comun (, el pasado. Cuando el precio era prio había la esparanza del aumento. Cuando era alto el temor de que bajara. Asi la mentalidad azucarera del pueblo a causa del monocultivo, o como técnicamente dicen, economia unilineal, era inestable. Y si se tiene en cuenta además la historia de los últimos 60 años, sus corvulsiones, guerras, etc., el desequilibre económico tenia que ser factor de angistias y alegrias, esperanzon y destinationes que gravaban hondamento el pensamie no del pueblo. Cualquier oscilación de recio se sentia desde el último bohío hista la primera residencia, Claro está que en forma muy diferente.

No obstante saber todo el mundo o doetr qua el problema era el monocultivo y que habia que diversificar los cultivos para liberorse de la dej indencia de un producto, sobre tedo des ués de la crisis econômica do los años . O, no se hizo: porque el uso de las mi juinas cortado. ras, para realizar la má: dura de todas las operaciones de recolec den "no se permite en Cuba donde hay superexistencia de mano de obra y las leyes sociales vicenter lucen su uso extr midamente difigil" (curta de Agregado Agricola de los Estades Unidos, La Habara, 16 de februro da 1954). Y también porque "la mecanización en cualquier cam a de actividad humana incluyendo la agricultura, no dabe ser Hoyada demasi do lejon si ha de amargar a los hombres que aman la tierra, la libertad y la dig ildad personal". Por eso en la Unión Soviética, doude la mecanización sobrepasa i ichiso la agroindustrialización, de la producción cubana del azúcar, se dice que los campesinos "iararean canciones de pretesta aun a riesgo de ser castigados seve amente" (Λzůcar Amargo, Byron Whi e, pág. 48).

Todos estos pretextos " otros, reflejos de una realidad social, de una contradicción insuperable en las co idiciones en que se planteaba, caracterizó el período prerevolucionario. Era verdad que el 56% de la tierra cultivada era dedicada a caña. Que el cultivo era extensivo; pero sobro todo porque "una mecanización óptima y precipitada de los campos cañeros podria tener consecuencias ceóticas, a menos do encontear inmediatamente otros empleos para esa fuerza de trabajo". Byron White, pag. 50),

La Contradicción que sólo una Revolución podria resolver:

Cuba era un país de monocultivo. El 56% do la tierra cultivada era dedicada a caña. El producto de mayores dividendos, por via de exportación, era el azúcar. El volumen de las importaciones estaba determinado por la cantidad de azúcar exportada. El desbalance podria ser resultado de la oscilación del precio en el mercado mundial. La especifica o especial calidad del suelo cubano para el cultivo de la caña, más los bajos salarios de la mano de obra para el corte fueron determinantes en el análisis de la costeabilidad más baja de la producción azucarera cubana en comparación con Hawai y Lou. siana, donde la mecanización agricola del corte, alza y siembra pudicion haber determinado un costo más bajo en la producción, en la década de 40 al 50.

Con una población de mas de 5 millones de habitantes entre los años 40 y 50, Cuba destinaba 500 000 al corte de caña o sea cerca del 10% de la población, Pero si se considera la población activa en edad de trabajo, los números varian es-

candalosamente. Los propictarios necesitaban mano de obra, barata, y en canticot para realizar la zafra. La recolección doraba cuatro meses. Los temporcros de zafra se convertian en desempleades cuando ésta terminaba. Meennizar la industria azacarera -podria significar un aumento de las utilidades por el bajo costo de producción que conflevaria; pero el desempleo aumentaria agrayando una atuación social cuvos resultados eran imprevisibles. Por otra parte, a pivel interpacional, una disminución en costo do pronucción azuenrera de Cuba, óptima en este caso, sería determinante del precio, por cuanto éste, lejos de venir determinado por la oferta y la demanda, ex resultado de los promedios sociales de produccion a nivel internacional. Esto hubiese provocado la quiebra en Hawai, Puerto Rico, Luisiana, etc. Y los norteamericanos, tutores y beneficiarlos do la explotación neocolonial velaban por un cierto equilibrio en sus neocolonias. El desplazamento de otros productores hubicse permitido una concurrencia privilegiada de Cuba en el mercado mundial. Este su no do ado de los capitalistas cubanos fue cortado con un simple sistema de cuotas que la metropo't norteamericana impuso, poniendo asi paz entre los irquietos tutelados. Naturalmente que la medida determinó también un estancamiento económico.

Internamente, los obreres se oponian a todo lo que fuese mecanización porque esta acarrenria un desempleo en masa y -no-se velan-por no existir, posibilidadis de opción en otros trabajos que no fueso

la industria azuentera,

12 sucho de industrializar y diversificarla agricultura del pais no podia realizarse porque su estado de dependencia económica y neocolonial no se lo permitia. La politica del comprador determinaba el producto. Para industriabzar y diversificar hav que ser libres y los goblernos cubanos eran dependientes de la metrópoli norteamericana que no habia previsto en su planificación de obtención de beneficios estas aspiraciones. La importación de materias primas y la exportacion de exceden. tes manufacturados es un privilegio de grandes y desarrollados. El chiquito que llegaba tarde a la mesa sa podla sentarso a comer. Tenia que esperar a que los "grandes" terminasen; pero eran de una voracidad sin limites. Marti lo habia previsto, "El pueblo que compra, manda, El pueblo que vende, sirve Hay que equilibrar el comercio, para asegurar la libertad. El pueblo que quiere morir, vende a un solo pueblo; y el que quiere salvarse, vende a más de uno" (Obras completas, Vol. II, Tomo I, pag. 262).

La verdadera liberación se halla en esas nalabras: La evolución tenla que resol-

ver esa contradicción:

Una ley de desarrollo capitalista es que la acumulación se hace a expensas de la explotación, empobrecimiento y depauperación progresiva de los protetarios. Porque el valor de la fuerza de trabajo vieno determinado por la posibilidad de reproducción de dicha fuerza. Al aplienr esta lev del desarrollo capitalisto, la clase duminante obtiene beneficios a expensas de la clase obrera; pero en la interrelación de fuerzas y con el provio desarrollo del capitalismo, la dirección principal de la explotación en los países capitalistas, pasó de la clase obrera nacional a las colonias y neocolonias, sufriendo estas últimas el mnyor rigor de la ley de' valor y produciéndose la actual acumulación de capital de los paises desarrollados y expensas de los subdesarrollados. Per eso mientras más desarrollados son unce, más atrasados son otros.

Esta contradicción: para poder desarrollarse hay que ilberarse del explotador, se plantenba en Cuba de forma confusa, como un circulo vicioso. Para satir del monocultivo y dependencia económica de un producto nay que diversificar e industrializar y para lograr la industrialización y diversificación agricola hay que liberar la fuerza de tradajo dedicada al azúcar a tray is de la mecanización cañoca y para meganizar hace falte la seguridad esconómica de que ésta rendirá utilidades.

El Circulo Victoro.

a) Los obreros se oponian a la mecanización perque no existia otra alternativa de trabajo.

 b) Los capitali das no mecanizaban por la insegundad del precio en el mercado mundad.

La mecanización debe habérsele presentado a algunos como una inversión dadoza. For otra parte la mano de obra era barata y en grandes canaldades. El suelo tenra tales caracteristicas que casi sin atención producia en condictores expotables.

- c) Hay un factor más complejo: La industria azuentera no tenla perspectivas a largo plazo; pero tampoco era deschable en lo inmediato por la rentabilidad que producia. Su futuro era incierto; pero su presente daba ptilidades, Ustas caracteristicas, cattson de inestabilidad, vacilaciones, crisis, alzas y bajas, lejos de provocar decisiones en una u otra dirección, mantavo un estatismo en los propietaries y gobernantes. Tel parece que Imbresen esperado que un impondera. ble o el sample transcorso del tiempo resolviese una situación que a la parque les preocupaba, demostraban ineptitud para resolver.
- d) Si el azuear era la fuente principal de ingresos y acumulación, por tanto la base financiera del desarrollo debia ser esta.

Probleman especificos:

- a) 500,000 contadores de caña. Representa el 1077 del total de la población y cerca del 40% de la población en edad laboral.
- b) El 5075 no la tierra cuitivada destimala n cama
- c) La concentración de la caña: la única netividad productiva que podía permitir ingresos es i seguros, se encontraba distribuida entre un número relativamente bajo.

d) La repartición den ocrática de la fuerza de trabajo er i, como las instalaciones azucarera , horizental, es deen, a lo largo y i neho de la isla. Concentrar las instalaciones azucareras en tierras de mayor productividad y acorde con les ustalaciones de mayor capacidad, su onía también la concentración de la mano de obra.

Las dos fuentea do riquezas principales do Cuba, suelo y Mano de Obra, que daron supeditados a un monocultivo cuyo futuro era incierto.

Pudieron haber arries ado la diversificación e industrialización del país no tanto con las probabilids es de ganancia de un producto inseguro, sino con la realidad de un suelo rico y una fuerza de trabajo apta, pero por neptitud y conformismo unidos a las presiones y tutela de los Estados Unidos no encararon con resolución un proceso dinámico que su visión estrecha les hacia sparecer estático.

El simple transcurso del tiempo con des consecuencias inevitibles, una social y otra económica (creem-lento de la población y concentración de capital), en las condiciones de la económica cubana, conducta a una crisia del sistema imperante: la Revolución fue la respuesta. Alf donde la burguesia en su dobie condición de propietaria y gobernar le demostró incapacidad y vaciló, la Levolución tenia que superarla. La Revolución heredó los problemas que no habian sido encarados y las contradicciones que no habian sido resuettes.

Las soluciones que al unos escritores progresistas, estudiosos o economistas planteaban a los graves problemas de la comomía nacional, no solo resultaban con el tiempo meros paliativos que solamento lograrian la dilación de a crisis e irresolución de los problemas, sino que resultaban reformas impracticables por las contradicciones que a £1 vez creaban. Véuse a modo de ejem lo el apéndice 180, 5 de José Antonio Guerra, de fecha 28 de septiembre de 1942. También als gunas conclusiones de Livion White en "Azúcar Amargo", pág. 178 y siguientes,

Pero la Revolución no olamente heredó problemas y contradic aones, sino qua por su sola presencia y nacialeza del proceso como otros problem as y contradicciones que se vieron agud zados tanto por la agresividad que desde el primer momento desarrollaron tos i aperialistas estadounidenses como por a ignorancia y faita de madurez del parbio, quien permendo por las ideas táctics del pasado creia que con la simple na lonalización de

la industria azucarera y otros sectores pedian superarse los problemas. La distribución de la riqueza, acumulada por la burguesia hasta entonces, no hubicse servido para sobrevivir más que pocos años y además de ser utópica hubieso enatenado el desarrollo industrial del país. Por otra parte, el capital acumulado no bostaba para financiar una diverbileación agricola ni instalaciones industriales, También el mercado seguro que los Estados Unidos representaba para las exportaciones azucareras y las importaciones, tento de alimentos, artículos de lujo y piezas de repuesto, desaparecia. La seguildad que la burguesia aceptaba, a preclo de angustia e incerlidumbre, esta ceguridad relativa, desaparecia con la Revolución,

Esta era resultado de una contradicción que en el plano de las relaciones internacionales, bilaterales y casi exchaiyas entre Cuba v los Estados Unidos, los últimos llevaban la mejor parte. El desarrollo económico tenia que haberlo encarado la burguesia cubana a pesar de los Estados Unidos, Desavrollar si se quiere una concepción nacionalista, chauvinista, de independencia econômica, pero su concepción de fatalismo geográfico, sus temores y balbuceos le impidieron realizar una politica para la que bacio falta, además de coraje, inteligencia. De una parte la naturaleza del imperialismo se revela incupaz para conceder reformas y por otra. cs una caracteristica subrencris de l'asburguesias nacionales latinoamericanas, sa temor a rebelarse contra los tutores de una politica y economia que por su poder y rapachlad les infunde temor. En el caso de latinoamérica no es tanto que no baya cristalizado una conciencia nacional burguesa, sino que la existencia de esta claso tiene una conciencia de dependencia de Estados Unidos que la meneracita en este periodo histórico para ver la posibilidad de una existencia independiente,

Con el triunfo de la Revolución, los burgueres y pequeños burgueses abandonaron Cuba, no solamente por las intervenciones revolucionarias, sino tambén por la convicción que tenian de que no podia mantenerse un gobierno que aglicare una politica no solo a pesar de los Estados Unidos, sino contra los intereses y objetivos de los Estados Unidos, Hebian sido mey dependentes y cobardes, Desarroliaron y acept iron come recuestionables, conceptos que elevaron a categorias de axiomas políticos, sin percatarse que evan el reflejo de ium ideologia y creencus temerosas: "S'n azucar no Lay Pala". "L'i puchia cubano es haragan", "Cuba está muy cerca de los | Zaindos Unidos para hacer io que le plazca", etc. i en la cara de la cara d

Si al gobierno de los Estados Unidos y a las burguesias letinoamericanes causó asombro y estupefacción la proclamación socialista de la Revolución cubana, en los cobardes burgueses y pequeños burgueses, act como en los cobanos en Miami, el origen del acombro un era trato económico, sino que preventa del hecho de que se mantuviese la Revolución. La cobardia jamás concibe otras soluciones quo-las ya experimentadas. Para elles las reformas eran dificiles, casi utópicas, ¡Una Revolución, imposible!

Los soviéticos y demás-paises-socialistas ofrecieron mercado para el azúcar.

Les inversiones econômicas para el desărrollo de la industria que la lógica priorizaba, se vicron obstaculazadas por el bloqueo impuesto por los no teamericanos y por la necesidad de desarrollar un aparato militar fuerte y modernisimo, capaz de enfrentar tanto las agresiones, como las amenazas constantes que los Estados Unidos y gobiernos latinomericanos realizaban.

Hoy la situación se plantes con agudeza. Para llevar adelante la diversificación agricola e industrialización del país, hace fulta mano de obra. Los enhanos en edad laboral somos unos 2 000 000 y el 30 por ciento está dedicado a la recolección azu-

Liberar esta fuerza de trabajo supono la posicilidad de dicigurla a otros sectores donde su productividad y desurrollo permita la neumulación de riquezas necesarias àl despeque económico. Lara esto hay que mecanizar la industria azuenrera. La múquina que corte y al e ilperará no sólo 500 000 cubanos, formid able fuerza de trabajo, sino que terminara por primera vez con el fatigoso corte de caña, uno de los trabajos más duros y violentos que en el planeta se conoce. El machete, simbolo, de libertad y esfuerzo del cubano, tombién signo de dependencia y angustia, se convertirá en una pieza de riuseo.

Todavia por algunos mãos habrá que depender del microcultivo cañero, y del micro como producto principal de exportación. Esta prioridad experiente es una de las razones que deteccione la imposibilidad de contar con muro de obra suficiade para desarrollar otros cultivos de manera indensa. Es positicmente sólo en Cuba, donde se da el fen in eno de un equilibrio entre la densidad de población y las tierras cultivables, equinbile en nuestro ceso desfavorable al Jesarrollo económico, y que re ve causado o agravado por el predominio cañero.

4

Si en vez de 7 millones fuésemos 10 mlllenes de cubanos el problema se plantea. ria en otros términos. Podita tal vez encararse la mecanización arnearera como paulatina y paralela al desarrollo de otros sectores; pero en nuestras condiciones la mecanización resulta un requisito sino qua neu.

Pero la mecanización no sólo produco efectos econômicos, sino que el más profundo es de carácter Vico. La verdadera liberación secá de la fatigosa carga del corte manual.

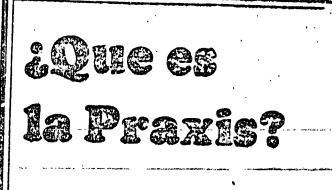
Alguien na dicho que el verdadero fin de la Revolución es una máquina cortadora, que cuando esto ocurra la Revolución habra roto una de las cedenas más pe-

sudus y difficiles.

Esto representará la liberación de una parte considerable de la población en edad laborar y romperá las barreras de una baja productividad cuyos resultados a mediano y larvo plazo, son dificiles de preveer. Le industria accearera signoslendo inclerto, en tanto existe la posibili. dad de producir azúcar sintético; en condiciones económicas. Pero hasta tanto esono ocurra, la industria azucarera de la caña, seguirá siende la bare de nuestro desarrollo econômico y en neces años, descansendo en les riquezas de miestro suelo

y en la fuerza de nues ro pueblo, la Revolución habrá resueito as contradicciones y problemas que timora: os y vacilantes no supieron encarar con el valor y el coraje que le habian legado las tradiciones mambisas; el mechete que s rvié para romper el nudo con España, s rve hoy también como garante exclusivo, per la mano que lo empuña, de un descreello econômico en el que sin riesgo de n ngún tipo pueden contine todos los gobier los y pueblos del mundo.

- a) La combinada de jorte y alza que vimos en la Básica del Cauto representa una ayuda hesilmable al prolongado esfuerzo y tacrificio que hayque realizar en arc: de una acumulación de riquezas para financiar-tanto la industria como la diversificación amicola.
- b) Representa un incremento de la población en edad lat real.
- c) Hará desaparecer u ir especie de sentimiento de culpal lidad que naturalmente tenemos que sentir todos respecto al obrero agricola cortador.
- d) La máquina de cort : y alza constituye el primer estabón de la Revolucion industrial necessria a nuestro desa-, rrolio y nuestra tot il liberación.



Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez

Actividad y praxis.

Toda pravis es actividad, pero no toda netividad es praxis. Al schalar Marx qua el idealismo, on contraste con el materialismo, admito el lado activo de la relación sujeto-objeto, y al subrayar, a su vez, su defecto -ne ver esta actividad como práctien-,(1) nos proviene contra todo intento de establecer un signo de igualdad entre actividad y praxis. De ahí que para delimitar el contenido propio de esta ultima y au relación con otras acilyidades, sea preciso distinguir la pragis, como forma de actividad e pecifica, de otras que pueden estar incluse intimamente vinculadas

Por actividad en general, entendemos el acto o conjunto de actos en virtud de los cuntes un sujoto activo (agente) madifica una materia prima Gada. 60 Lata caracterizacion do la activalad justamento por su generalidad no espectiva of tipo do agente (fisico, biológico o humano) ni la naturaleza de la materia prima sobre la que actua (cuerpo tisico, ser vivo, vivencia psiquica, grupo, relación o institución social) ni determina tamporo la especio de actos (fisicos, psiquicos, sociales) que conducen a carta transformación. El resuitado de la netividad, a sen, su producto se da asindamo, en niveios diversos: puedo ser una nuova particula, un concepto, un útil, una obra artística o un nuevo sisterna social.

En este amplio sentido, actividad se opone a pusividad, y su esfera es la de la

efectividad, no la de lo meramente posible. Agente es lo que obra, lo que actua y no lo que catá solumente en posibilidad o disponibilidad de actuar u obrar. Su actividad no es potencial, sino actual. Se da efectivamento sin que pueda ser separada del auto o conjunto de actos que la constituyen. La actividad muestra en las relaciones entre las partes y el todo los rasgos de una totalidad concreta. Varios actos desarticulados o yuxtapuestos casualmente no permiten habiar de actividad; es preciso que los actos singulares so articulen o estructuren, como elemenion de un todo, o de un proceso total, que desemboca en la modificación de una materia prima. Por ello, a los actos del agente y a la materia sobre la cual se cierce esta actividad, hay que agregar el resultado o producto que es esa materia mirmu ya transformada por el agente.

Auestro concopto de actividad es lo suficientemente amplio para que englobe, por ejemplo: a un nivel fisico, las relaciones nucleares de determinadas particulas que conduçen a la transformación de unos elementos quimiers en su conjunto, o la activided de un órgano en particular; a un nivel paiquico, ins actividades del home bre o del animal del tipo de la sonsorial, refleja instintiva, etcétera; en este plano instintivo, la actividad micde manifestarse como una serie de actos tan complejos como el de la construcción de un niclo por un pájaro, sin que por ello deje de ser una actividad meramente biológica, natural. El hombre también puede ser su-

deto de actividades —biológicas o instintions - que no rebasan su nivel meramente natural y que, por tanto, no podemos considerarlas como especificamente humanas.

La actividad prepiamente humana sólo se da cuando los actes dirigidos a un obdeto para transfermarlo de inician con un resultedo ideal, o fin, y terminan con un resultado o producto efectivos, rentes. En este caso, los actos no sólo se hallan determinados ensualmente por un estado anterior que se ha ciado efectivamento--determinación del pasado por el prerente-, sino por algo que no tiene una existencia efectiva nun y que, sin embargo, determina y regula los diferentes netos antes de desembocar en un resultado real; o sea, la determinación no viene del pasado, sino del futuro.

La adecuación a fines,

Este modo de articulación y determinación de los diferentes accos del proceso activo distingues radicalmente la actividad especificamente humana de cualquier otra que se halle a un nivel meramente natural. Dicha actividad entraña la intervención de la constencia gracias a la cual el resultado estato dos veces ---y en tiempos distintos--, como resultado ideal y como producto real. El resultado real. que se quiere obt nor, existo primero idealmente, como mero preducto de la conciencia, y los diterentes acros del pro-680 se articular o estructurar conforme a) resultado que se da primero en el tiempo, er decir, el resultado ideal. Por esta anticipación del resultado que se pretende obtener, la actividad proplamente humana tiene un carácter consciente. Lo característico de ella es que por mucho que diste el resultado real del ideal se trata, en tedo caso, de adecuar intencionalmente el primere al segundo. Ello no significa que el resultado obtenido hava de ser forzosamente una mera duolicación real de un modelo ideal preexistente. Not la adecuación no tiene por que ser perfecta. Puede asemejarse poco, e incluse nada, al fin originario, ya que este sufre cambios, a veces radicales, en el proceso de su realización. Ahora bien, para que pueda hablar e de actividad humana basta que se plantee en cila un resultado ideal o fin a cumpur, como punto de partida, y una intención de adecuación, independientemente de como se plasme, en detunitiva, el modelo ideal originario,

Esta madecuación entre intención y resultado se pone de manifesto tanto en la actividad de los individuos como en la proplamente social. Aqua mientras los hombres no son consciences de las leyes que rigen el proceso econôn leo-sociel, la persecución de diferentes I nes por los miembros de la sociedad da tugar a acuvidades diversas de los individues o grupos sociales en los que dichos fines se contraponen, equilibran o s: subordinan entre si produciendo resulti dos que no concuerdan con sus intenciones o que so dan con Independencia de és as. Las relaciones de producción, por elemplo, son relaciones que los hombres contraen independientemente de su voluntad y de sa conciencia. Es decir, son producidas por los hombres como productos suyos inintencionales. (3) El progreso histórico se caracterizară, entre ofras cesas, por una superación de esta infintencio alidad. Los hombres que en el pasado pre lujeron inintencionamiente la esclavitud el feudalismo y el capitalismo se propon in hoy, conscientemente, la destrucción de las relaciones capitalistas de producción y la lestauración del socialismo. Pero atmque la historia humana registra regultados que nadle ha querido, esta inin encionalidad no es sino la forma que socia mente adopta el resultado de la activida i desplegada. por los individuos como seres sociales que actúan conscientemente, o Volveremos más adelante (en el capitalo V) sobro esta cuestión,

La actividad humana es, por tanto, actividad conforme a fines, y és os sólo existen por el hombre, como pre luctos de suconclencia. Tode acción ver aderamento numana exige cierta conciencia de un fin, el cual se supedita al curso de la actividad

El fin es, a su vez, la expresión de cierta actitud del sujeto ante la realidad. Por el hecho de trazarme un fin, i dopto clerta posición ante ella. Quien se propone realizar un viaje, construir una silla, pintac un cuadro o transformar un régimen social, muestra determinada actitud ante una situación real, presente. Si el hombre viviera en plena armonía con la realidad, o en total conciliación con su presente, no semiria la necesidad de necesidas idealmente ni de configurar en sa conciencia una realidad inexistente aún. Carcee de sentido, en verdad, proponerse un fin ya alcanzado, o un resultado obtenido. El lin prefigura idealmente lo qué aún no se logra alcanzar. Por el heche de trazarso fines, el hombre niega una r alidad efectiva, y atirma otra que no existe todavia. Pero los fines son productos de la conclencia, y, por ello, la actividi d que rigen es consciente. No se trata de la actividad de una conciencia pura, sino de la conclencia de un hombre se dal que no puede prescindir de la production de fines en ninguna forma de actividad, incluyendo, por supuesto, la práctica, material.(5)

Marx hace resaltar el papel del fin en una actividad practica como el trabajo humano: «Al final del proceso de trabajo, brota un resultado que antes de comenzar el proceso existia ya en la mente del obrero: es decir, un resultado eve tenia ya existencia ideal. El obrere no se limita a hacer cambiar de forma la materia que le brinda la naturaleza, sino que, al mismo tiempo, realiza en ella su fin, fin que él sabe que rige como una ley las modelidades de su netuación, y al que tiene que supeditar su voluntada, (6)

Al subrayar aqui el papel de la producción de fines en el proceso de trabajo, Marx destaca asimismo el papel del objeto - da materia que le brinda la naturaleza-- sobre el cual se ejerce dicha aetividad. La transformación de la naturaleza naterial en productos mediante el trabajo no podrla darse sin estas condiciones materiales, pero, a su vez, Marx subraya justamente por tratarse del trabajo como una netividad especificamente humana el papel determinante del fin, y su caracter da ley en dicho proceso de transformación material.

El fin, por tanto, prefigura aqui el resultado de una actividad real, practica, que ya no es pura actividad de la conciencia. Gracias a ello, el hombre no se ludla en una relación de exterioridad con sus diferentes actos y con su producto como sucede cuando se trata de un agente físico o unimal, sino en una relación de interioridad con cilos, ya que su conciencia estableer el fin como ley de sus actos, ley a la que se subordinan, y que rige, en cierto modo, el producto. Este dominio jamás puede ser absoluto, ya que se halla limitado por el objeto de la acción y los medios con que se lleva a cabo la materiali-

zacion de los fines. Asi, pues, al anticipar idealmente el resultado efectivo, puede ajustar sus actos como elementos de una totalidad regida por el fin. Esta prefiguración ideal del resultado real diferencia radicalmente la actividad del hombre de cualquier otra actividad animal que, externamente, pudiera asemejarse a cila. «Una araña --dice Marx-- ejecuta operaciones que seriejan las manipulaciones del tejedor, y la construcción de los panales de las abejas podria avergonzar, por su perfección, a más de un maestro de obras. Pero hay algo en que el peor maestro de obras aventaja, desde luego, a la mejor abeja, y es el hecho de que, antes de ejecutar la construcción, la proyecta en su cerebrov.(7)

Tomando en cuenta la semejanza externa quo puede darse entre clertos actos animales y humanos, hay que concluir que la actividad propia del hombre no

puede reducirse a su mera expresión exterior y que de ella forma parte esencialmente la actividad de la conciencia. Esta actividad se despliega como producción de fines que prefiguran idealmente el resultado real que se quiere obtener, pero se manifiesta, asimismo, como producción de conocimientos, es decir, en forma de conceptos, hipótesis, teorias o leyes medianto los cuales el hombré conoce in reulidad.

Entre la actividad cognoscitiva y le teleológica hay diferencias importantes, pues mientras la primera tiene que ver con una realidad presente de la cual se pretende dar razón, la segunda bace referencia a una realidad lutura, y, por tanto, inexis-"tente aun." Por otro lado, mientras la actividad cognoscitiva de por si no entraña una exigencia de acción efectiva, la actividad teleológica lleva implicita una exigencia de realización, en virtud de la cuat se tiende a hacer del fin una causa de la acción teal. En efecto, en cuanto anticipación ideal de un resultado real que se quiere ideanzar, el fin es tamblén expresión de una necesidad humana que sólo so satisface con el logio del resultado que nauel prefigura o anticipa. Por elle, no es sólo anticipación ideal de lo que está por venir, sino de algo que, además, que ... remos que venga. Y, en este sentido, es causa de acción y determina -como porvenir- nuestros netos presentes. Cierto es que el hombre no solo anticipa el futuro con su actividad teleológica; al der razón de una realidad presente, y sobre la base de su conocimiento puede prever una faso de su desenvolvimiento que no se da aún. Tal es la legitima función de la previsión cientifica. Con ella, se anticipa idealmente la que todavia no existe efectivamente. Pero esa anticipación ideal del futuro no entraña necesariamente que queramos su existencia real, o aspiremos a contribuir a que advenga. En este caso, el futuro no determina nuestros actos; es decir, la prefiguración ideal de una realidad inexiso tente no rige como una ley -a diferencia del fin- nuestra acción. En pocas palabras, la actividad cognoscitiva de por si no nos mueve a actuar.

Pero eso no significa que una y otra actividad de la conciencia se hallen separadas por una muralla insalvable. No so conoce por conocer, sino al servicio de un fin, o serie de fines que puede tener como estabón inicial el de la conquista de la verdad; a su vez, como antes señalamos, los fines que la conciencia produce llevan en su seno una exigencia de realización, y esta realización presupone -entre otras condiciones— una actividad cognoscitiva sin la cual dichos fines jamas podrian tocar tierra, es decir, cumplirse. Por otro lado, todo fin presupone deter-

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Ast, pues, la nellyidad de la comelemen. titul by heremarable do toda verdadela acfirthful lumarai, so his mesunt comb Salamailla de thes y producción de canochalentos en talina uniciad. Si el houhie accotara siembre el muido bomo es, y si, boi vien baili, es aconidea siemert a si mit and cli sir estado nettral, ho sentirla Le miershbut de braisformar et mundo ut the transfordation of the set bits. So artifu konorletalo, de la misti i mahera miti - cilhad Vereties have nessaithed at controls. htthaiidd. El collachidento limbana ch su conjuilly or intropa on la poole e collinia faited del holiding de transfert air la mafutaleza exterior, y su propia caliculera. Pero el conscinicida ho sirve illicitation. to a bela actividad brachen, brachin mathord; su point on reloción con tila a través the bod times. In relatebout tritter of bounds miento y la neción remaire la mediación the life titles no had the thatdutse bit his os depend to paromach me, y can norminalithis de inta apetencia de reillerelant, esta trallenglich - o einem mutton dit um intterly dudy puta probed deluminada id-Millintto - begillers till tennelmichte the str tible in the he incilled e instrumentes min tradisformation of the line considerates the abreit a teletran his notabilidades de per reallenged. Ha concellinein, his nettylthilles become trivially telephories the la pollblehein se hadan en und tim tad Indied-Bublit.

Lis hellylitad de la robeledela dis piùr si Hend in enracter ten padimis deficibline teditist till i dolder mut no puckt edolucie par el som, corea mera actividad de la bontledein, a mu tidosformeskin de la resilidad, fialited d social, to Tanto el 80 lintik de la formillarion de fres comi de 18 birbittetion to collectate it. la col-Eledela im tebase su pingia ambito; es Herrie, but with idad his se objetitio o matel. radiza. Por esta tuzota si une y otra son nelividades do sou, en thodo etchou detividad objettyd, real, as deem praxis.

La Artibhian praetien.

Citità tetta activitant briodifficate hit-Initia, la netlyblad practica tice is thattle Hesta on M Habajo humand, on a Ciedeion urtisties o en la praxis revolucióliaring is tith helividad hilectical a lines, filled fullipllimlento exige —cand liemds keffelladu-- vielta delividad Pontoseltiva. Pero is distinto de la netividad praetea fudica en el caracter real, objetivo, de la materia prima sobre la cual se actúa, de Ins médios o instrumentos tan que se elerre la arción, y de sa resu ado o producto. En la actividad practica, el sujeto retua sobre una miteria cue existe indeperullentemente de su concencia, y de las illierentes operaciones o nanibulaciones tisteffas por an transletente dou. In transtutiliación de em matella serobte todo. en el trabafo humdio - i sine um serle the metre fishers, correspond shit los cimies no podría llevarse a cabo la alteración o destrucción de cierras prop adades que haca instald la aparición de u i nuevo objeto, ron micris prophedaties - Bu 81 trabillo. ---the Maky ret hombre se entrenta como tili poder harmal con la materia de la putticulezh. L'une en nec'hi lua fuciena naturales one forman su corporeklath los brazas e las piermis, la cal zal y la mand. para de ese medo asimil rse, balo um further util prin on propil vida, for nontorita que la naturaleza le beindas, en Plushmente, el broducto co au nell'ellind tunisidinalora es un bille o ninterial qub subsiste tou l'alependencia del proceso de su genación, y que, con tu a kustmitividad proplar se attrant auto el culeto, es decir. into a vida independienten ente do la avtividad subjection que do la creadin

In bull muchle, a steen a there time he meticidad direction is real, distolica u ninteriot. You nuceron talese asl in connecteright Mairy but sus To da gibn a Prum Imelicio al confidence in expression to effect to object. the, fines subraya el en neler teal, bliletten, de la maris en em mo transformit of hands exterine too e: independento de sh conclencia y de su existencia. El obleto de la nettridad pedi tica es la imiti-Interd, in speledari is les idendires redies. Et this the transcribing to in transformitción real, objetiva, del trendo fintural h recial bain satisfacer tet rinhada nececulail lituration. Y el le illiado en tom mieva Tealidadi que subsit de Indépendientemento del sujeto o de l'is sulvida concretos title la bogendrator con su fictivithat subjection, pero que, e i defidition, sola existo por el hombre y men el hombre, Como ser savidi.

Eln esta acelou real, objettym sobre una tentidad — daturat o hunti in — que telsto Indopendentemente del su eta bracileo, no public limblarse proplamen e de praxis etno actividad diaterial to sciente y objetivanter por tanto, la kambe actividad subjetted sprightens; o hieranienta eapiritual also no so objetive materialmento hit patelle considerarse corab prakis.

Formas de pratis:

La materia prima de le actividad pratetion fluctic entititur david i highe a diverons formus do praxis. E objeto sobre cla

cual elerce su acción el sujeto puede ser: n) lo dado naturalmente, o entes nafurales: b) productos de una praxis anterior que se convierten, a su vez, en materia de una nueva praxis, como los materiales ya preparados con que trabala el obrero o crea el artista plástico; e) lo humano mismo, ya se trate de la sociedad como maleria u objeto de la praxis politica o revoluc onaria, va se trate de individuos concretos. En unos casos, como vemos, la praxis tiene por objeto al hombre y, en otios, une materia no propiamente humana: natural, en unos casos, artificial, en otros.

Entre las formas fundamentales de la praxis tenemos la actividad práctica productiva, o relación material y transformadora que el hombre establece -mediante su trabajo-con la naturaleza. (11) Gracias al trabalo, el hombre venco la resistencia do las materias y 10erzas naturales y crea un mundo do objetos útiles que satisfacen determinadas necesidades. Pero como et hombro es un ser social, esta proceso solumente se renliza en determinatas condiciones sociales, es decir, en el marco de ciertas relaciones que los hombres contracu como agentes de la produccion en este proceso y que Marx llama dustamente relaciones de producción. (12)

En el proceso de trabajo, el hombre valiendose de los instrumentos o medios ndecuados transforma un objeto con acreglo a un fin. En cuanto materializa cierto fin o proyecto, se objetiva en elerto modo en su producto. En el trabajo -dico Marx- el hombre asimila «bajo una forma útil para su propia vida, las materias que la naturaleza le brinda», (13) pero sólo puede asimilarlas objetivándose en ellas. es decir, imprimiendo en la materia trabafada la marca de sus tines. Marx senata esta adecuación a un fin como uno de los factores escuclales del proceso de trabajo: *Los factores simples que intervienen en el proceso de trabajo son: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o sea, el propio trabajo, su objeto y sus medios», (11)

En esta caracterización del proceso de trabalo, rodemos hablar de condiciones objetivas —la netividad del hombre y las condiciones materiales del trabajo- representadas tanto por el objeto del traba-Jo como por los medlos e Instrumentos con que se fleva a cabo esa transformación. Sin embargo, esta división no puede considerarse absoluta. En primer lugar, el hombre transforma el objeto con arregio a fines valiéndose de instrumentos que él mismo usa y fabrica, razón por la cual Marx dice que su uso y fabricación «enracterizan el proceso de trabajo especificamonto humano»,(15) Al reducir Marx el instrumento de trabajo -condición material y objetiva del proceso laboral- a trabajo humane, el instrumento anarece así humanizado también -tanto por su also como por su fabricación—. Cierto es que esta humanización no nuede conce- : 5 ltimo en un sentido abstracto, antropolós + gico, sino como expresión tanto de una determinada relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza como de las condiciones sociales en que los hombres producen (relaciones de producción). Por ello dice Marx: clas instrumentos de trabato no son solamente el barômetro indicador del desarrollo de la fuerza de trabajo del hombre. sino también el exponente de las condiciones sociales en que se trabaja. (16) Grachas a los instrumentos, la relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza deia de ser directa e inmediata. La aparición de instrumentor más perfeccions dos modifica el tipo de retación entre el hondire y la naturaleza, y, en este sentido, es un indico revelador del desarrollo de su fuerza do trabajo y de su dominio sobre la naturaleza. El poder de mediación del instrumento se ha extendido y elevado con la introducción de la máquina hasta llegar n la automaticación con la que el hombro queda separado radicalmente del obieto de la producción. Pero cualesquiera que scan los instrumentos de que se valga para transformar la materia conforme a sus fines, es, en definitiva, el hombre gulen los usa y fabrica, y es él, en última instancia, el que vallendose de ellos actúa sobre las materias y las transforma conforme a sus necesidades. El papel dominante de los medios de producción, subravado por Marx, lejos de eliminar la prerencia del hombre concreto, como sujeto de la producción, lo revela inequivocamente. Pero esta presencia de pone de maniflesto ablertamente con el tercer factor del proceso de trabajo señalado por Marx: su carácter de actividad personal adecuada a un fin. No se puede desconocer el papel de este factor al analizar el proceso de trabajo aunque ello se haga para subrayar la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceso de trabajo y el papel dominanto de los medios de produc-

Se puede afirmar el carácter teleológico de la actividad práctica, material, quo es el trabajo humano, sin que ello implique hacer abstracción de la materialidad misma de ese proceso, materialidad queno se reduce, por otra parte, al objeto do trabajo y a los instrumentes materiales. sino que incluye también, la propia acilvidad subjetiva del hombre que se enfreuin con sus instrumentos e la materia ya que en el trabajo «pone en acción las fuerzas naturales que forman su corpo- 11 reldad, los brazos y las piernas, la cabeza y la mano...» (18)

La praxis productiva es asi la praxis fundamental porque en cila el hombre no sólo produce un mundo humaro o humanizado, en el sentido de un mundo de objetos que satisfacen necesidades humanas y que sólo pueden ser producidos en la medida en que se plasmar en ellos finos o proyectos humanos, sina también, en el sentido de que en la praxis productiva el hombre se produce, forma o transforma a si mismo. «A la par que de ese racao actúa sobre la naturaleza exterior a él y la traostorma - dice Marx en El Copital-, transforma su propia naturaleza desarrollando las potencias que cormulan en el y someticado el juego de sus fuerans a su propla disciplina, clivi

Otra forma de praxis es la producción o creación de obras de arte. Al igual que el trabajo humano es transformación de una materia a la que se imprime una formia dada, e.d. ala no ya por um necesidad practico-utilitaria, sino per una necesidad general humana de expresion y objetivación. En cuacco que la actividad del artista no se halla emicada por la utilldad material que el producto del trabajo. debe satisfacer, puede llevar el preseso de humanización que - en forma limitada se da ya en el trabajo homano hasta sus últimas consection, ias. Por ello la praxis artistica permite la creación de objetos humanes o hemonizados que elevan a un geado superior la capacidad de expresión y objetivación humanos, que se revela ya en los productos del trabajo. La obra artistica es, ante todo, erención de una nueva realidad, y puesto que el hombre se nfirma, creando o hum inicando cuanto toca, la praxis artistica - al en anchar y enriqueder con sus creaciones la renticad ya humaniza ki- es una praxis esencial para el hombre.

Como toda verdadera praxis humana, el arte se sitúa en la esfera de la accióa. de la transformación de una materia que ha de ecder su forma para adoptar occamieva: la exigida por la necesidad humana una el objeto cicado o producido ha da ratisfacer. El arte no es meca producción material ni pura producción espiritual. Pero justamente por su caracter práctico, realizador y transformador, está más cerea del trabajo humano - sobre todo, cuando éste no ha perdido su carácter trendor-, que de una actividad meramente espiritual.

Entre las formas de actividad práctica que se ejercen sebre una materia dada hay que incluir también la actividad cientifica experimental que satisface, primordialmente, las necesidades de la investigación teórica, ry, en particular, las de la

Parties are with

comprobación de hipótes s. Esta forma de praxis es la que se pone de manifiesto cuando el investigador actún sobre un obicto material modificande a voluntad las coadiciones en que se ope a un fenómeno. Tal es el sentido de la experimentación como praxis eleutifica. El investigador produce fenómenos que so i una reproducclón de las que se dan en un medio naturat, pero los produce justi mente para poder estudiarlos en un med o artificial --el del laboratorio-sin las i apurezas y perturbaciones con que se presentan en el medio natural y que, por esa razos, dificultan su estudio. En cue ito que se trata de producir determinados fenómenos con avuda del instrumento fis co adecuado, la actividad científica experimental es, evidentemente, una forma de praxis. Se trata de una actividad objetir a que da lugar a un producto o resultado real y objetivo.

La este tipo de praxis el fin inmediato es tederco. El experimento se lleva a cabo para probar una teoria, i determinados aspectos de ella. Se expe imenta respondiendo a ciertas exigencias teóricas con el fin de facilitar el desarro lo de ella. Un determinado experimento -por ejemplo. los reginados en agronomi - puede tener consecuencias prácticas, pero no directamente, sino a traves de la coria que trata de comprobar.

Aliola bien, la experimentación no es privativa de la clencia; case hablar tamblén de una actividad e perimental en otros campos: artístico, ecucativo, económico o social. En estos ca os, a diferencia de la actividad experimental científica, el experimento no está al se vicio directo e inmediato de una teoria, s no de una forma especifica de praxis; el experimento matistico o educativo tiene por fin el lmpulso de la actividad práctica corresponmente, el arte o la educición. De este modo, vemos que mientra, en la ciencia el im de la actividad experimental es feóvico - tortatecer o impulsar el desarrollo de una teoria--, y, de un modo mediato, slive por tanto a determinada actividad práctica, en otros campos la experimentación contribuye al desenvo vimiento de la praxis corre pondiente, pero de una maneva divecta e inmediata; en cuanto que pur resultados se aplican en la esfera práctien adecuada,

Tales son las formas fundamentales -aunque no exclusivas- de la praxis cuando la acción del hombro se ejerce más o menos immediatamente sebre una materia natural —naturaleza ir nediata, o naturnieza yn medinta, o tral ajadę que sirve de objeto de nueva acción-. Veamos, ahora, el tipo de praxis en que el hombro es sujeto y objeto de ella; es decir, praxis en la que actúa sobre si mi mo.

Esta actividad práctica del hombre ofrece diversus modalidades. Dentro de ella caen los diversos actos encaminados a su transformación como ser social, y, por ello, a cambiar sus relaciones econômicas, politicas y sociales. En cuanto que su actividad toma por objeto no a un individuo alslado, sino a grupos o clases sociales, e incluso a la sociedad entera, nuede deunminarse praxis social, aunque en un sentido amplio toda práctica (incluyendo aquella que tiene por objeto directo a la naturaleza) reviste un carácter social, ya que el hombre sólo puede llevaria a caho contravendo determinadas relaciones sociales trelaciones de producción en la praxis productiva) y, además, porque la modificación práctica del objeto no humano se traduce, a su vez, en una transformación del hembre como ser social.

En un sentido más restringido, la praxis social es la actividad de grupos o clases sociales que conduce a transformar la organización y dirección de la sociedad, o a realizar cicrtos cambios mediante la uctividad del Estado. Esta forma de praxis es justamente la actividad política.

En las condiciones de la sociedad dividida en clases antagónicas, la política comprende la lucha de clases por el poder y la dirección y estructuración de la sociedad, de acuerdo con los interesca y finas cor espondientes. La politica es una actividad práctica en cuanto que la lucha que libran los grupos o clases sociales se halla vinculada a cierto tipo de organización real de sus miembros (instituciones y organizaciones políticas, como son, por ejerapio, los partidos) en segundo lugar, aunque la actividad politica vaya acompañada de un choque y contraposición de ideas, proyectos, programas, etcétera, y esta lucha ideológica ejerza una influencia indudable en las acciones políticas reales, concretas, el carácter práctico de la actividad politica exige formas, medios y métodos reales, efectivos, de lucha; asi, por elemplo, el projetariado en su lucha politica se vale de huelgas, manifestaciones, mithies e incluso de métodos violentos, En tercer lugar, la actividad política gira en torno a la conquista, conservación, dirección o control de un organismo concreto como es el Estado. El poder es un Instrumento de importancia vital para la transformación de la sociedad.

La pravis política presupone la participación de amplios sectores de la sociedad. Pero no se trata de una actividad espontánea, aunque se den en ella actos espontáncos de determinados individuos o grupos. Persigue determinados fines que responden a los intereses radicales de las cinses sociales, y en cada situación concreta la realización de esos fines se halla condicionada nor las posibilidades objetivas inscritas en la propia realidad. Una politica que responda a esas posibilidades y que excluya todo aventurerismo, exige un conocimiento de esa realidad y de la correlación de clases para no proponerse acciones que desemboquen inexorablemente en un fracaso. La lucia tiene que ser, por tanto, consciente, organizada y dirigida, y la necesidad de librarla en esto forma expilca la creación de los partidos politices.

Los partidos trazan, con una mayor o menor conclencia de los objetivos, postbilidades y condiciones, la linea de accion. Los métodos para transiormar lo ideal en real, es decir, para realizar practicamiente la linea pólitica trazada por un partido constituve la estrategia y la táctica. La estrategia señala las tarcas correspondientes a una etapa historica general, y la táctica determina el modo de cumplir la lines politica de un periodo relativamente breve. Estrategia y tactica se relacionan dentro de la linea politica y de su aplicación como lo general y lo particular.

La praxis politica, en cuanto actividad practica transformadora, alcanza su forma más alta en la praxis revolucionaria como empa superior de la transfermición práctica de la sociedad. En la sociedad dividida en clases antagónicas, la octividad revolucionaria permito campiar radicalmente las bases económicas y sociales en que se asienta el poder material y espiritual de la clase dominante, e instaurar asi una nueva sociedad. El agente principal de este cambio es el proletariado a través de una lucha consciente, organizada y diriglda, lo que presupone la existencia de un partido que eleve su conciencia de classy trace claramente los objetivos do esta lucha, su estrategia y su táctica, que organice las fuerzas y las dirila.

Si el hombre existe en cuanto tal como ser práctico, es decir; afirmandose con su actividad práctica transformadora trente a la naturaleza exterior y fronte a su propia naturaleza, la praxis revolucionaria y la praxia productiva constituyen dos dimensiones escuciates de su see práctico. Pero, a su vez, una y otra uctividad, junto con las restantes formus especificas de praxis, no son sino formas concretas parficulares de una praxis total humana gracias a la cual el hombre como ser sociel y consciente humaniza los objetos y se humaniza a si mismo.

La actividad teórica.

La actividad teórica en su conjunto -como ideología y ciencia-, considerada también a lo largo de su desenvolvimiento histórico, sólo existe por y en relación 13 con la práctica, ya que en ella encuentra su fundamento, sus tines y criterio de verdad, como trafaremos de poner de manificsto más adelante. Pero por estrechas que sean las relaciones entre una y otra actividad, la actividad teórica de por si no muestra los rasgos que hemos considerado privativos de la praxis, y, por ello, no debemos ponerla en el mismo plano que las formas de actividad práctica que antes hemos examinado. A nuestro modo de ver, la actividad teórica no es de por si una forma de praxis.

Aunque la «práctica» teórica transforme percepciones, representaciones o conceptos, y cree el tipo peculiar de productos que son las hirarists, teorias, leyes, eteètera, carninguno de esos casos se transforma la realidad. No se cumplen en ella las condiciones que señalábamos anteriocmente con respecto a la materia prima, la actividad y el resultado en el proceso práctico. Falta aquí el lado material, objetivo, de la praxis, y por ello no consideramos que sea legitimo hablar de praxis teórica.

Lo que a nuestro juicio veda caracterizarla asi es precisamente lo que hay de distintivo en la actividad teórica, ent mdiendo por ésta tanto la producción de Tides como de conocimientos. Por su objeto, fines, medios y resultados, la actividad teorica se distingue de la práctica. Su objeto o materia prima son las sensaciones o percepciones ---es decir objetos psiquicos que sólo tienen una existencia subjetiva-. o los conceptos, teorias, representaciones o hipôtesis que tlenen una existencia ideal. El fin immediato de la actividad teòrica es elaborar o transformar idealmente, no realmente, esa materia printa, para obtener, como productos, teorias que expliquen una realidad presente, o modelos que prefiguren idealmente una realidad futura. La actividad teórica proporciona un conocimiento indispensable para transformar la realidad, o traza fines que antielpan idealmente su transformación, pero en uno y otro caso queda interta la realidad efectiva. Las transfornaciones que lieva a cabo la actividad teórica con relación a esta - paso de una alpótesis a una teoria, y de esta a otre coria más fundada— son transformaciones ideales: de las ideas sobre el mundo, pero no del mundo mismo, (21) Y las operaciones que el hombre lleva a cabo para producir fines o conocimientos son operaciones mentales: abstract, generalizar, acqueir, sintetizar, prever, etc. que si biea exigen un sustrato corporeo y el funcionamiento del sistema nervioso superior, no dejan de ser operaciones subjetivas, psiquicas, aunque puedan tener manifestaciones objetivas.

Por otra parte, pensamos que la admisión de una praxis teórica se halla en con-

tradicción con la crítica que Marx formula en sus Tesis sobre Feu rbach. Si recordamos el contenido de la Tesis I veremos one Marx critica a Feuc bach justamente por concebir la relación sujeto-objeto (u hombre-naturaleza) como una relación meramente contemplativi, o sea teórica. En esto radica el defecto fundamental de la filosofia Fetterbachia ia, así como del materialismo tradicional En este sentido, Marx contrapone relacion (contempiativa) teórica y práctica. Y en ese mismo sentido contrapone también en su Tesis XI la filosofia como inte pretación, es deeir, como teoría desligar a de la práctica. y la filosofia vinculada conscientemente a la transformación det mundo.

Esta contraposición de contemplación (teoria) y praxis demt estra que Marx; lejos de admitir la teoria como una forma de praxis, establece por el contrario una contraposición, entre una y otra. Por otra parte al distinguir claramente en su Introducción a la critica de la economia. política, lo concreto real y lo concreto pensado, y presentar la actividad teórica cognoscitiva, es decir, la producción do conocimientos como un proceso ascensional de lo abstracto a lo concreto --proceso T que se opera en el pensar dento y que consiste en la reproducción espiritual del objeto real bajo la forma de lo concreto pensado-, Marx señala claramente que se trata de una actividad o producción que no produce nada efectivamente, es decig no transforma la realidad. (22) Una actividad que se opera sólo en el pensamiento y que produce el tipo pe uline de objetos que son los productos do este no puede, por tanto, identificarse con la actividad práctica que llamamos praxis.

Si llamamos praxis a Li actividad práctica material, adecuada i fines que transforma el mundo -natu al y humano--, no cabe incluir la activicad teórica entre las formas de praxis ya que falta en cilas la transformación objetiva de una materia mediante el sujeto, cuyo; resultados subsisten independientement : de su actividad. (23)

Solamente subjedviza do el concepto de praxis hasta borrar teda diferencia especatica con el de activido I en general, podriamos habiar de una praxis teórica. Pero, en cuanto que la actividad teórica de por si no modifica re ilmente el mundo -aunque si nuestras ideas sobre élno nos parece legitimo ablar de praxis teórica.

La actividad filosófica 'ransforma nuestra concepción del mundo, de la sociedad o del hombre, pero no n odifica -directa e inmediatamente- na la real. Cabria preguntarse, sin embarg, il esto es vilido para toda actividad filosofica, inclu-

Figure 14 The continuous of the state of the killo comb objeto de interpretación, sino the Phistoffinadian, the methoda con in Teckle XI the Mark subtle Frumbhach pournames tlividir las filosofias, hesde tai public de vista histórico, en fillistiflas que se littilian a tritar de dar ritzon de lo existente y que desembacan, como muestra palmariamente el alaterra de Hegel, en una contillación, del pensamiento con la reutidad (tilosofia como atentación del mundo), y filosofias que sirven —por su vinculación consciente con una praxis revolucionaria- a la transformación del mundo (fi-Ipsufia como instrumento, teórico o guia de una transformación hignona radical). Aborn blen, and policies decired que, en este ultimo caso, la actividad filosofica es ya una forma de praxis, que podriamostienduilline prefishidente pfasis teorica? Y; He ho suf hal this an empolitiation todas las filosoffiis en el infanto plaiso 180, leb y se bottogla la difetencia conflutiva que Maix established but in Treats establic entire title of olde that the filestilla?

I bilebigatiolis bieveinelle eli esta edestibli glid nos phiteed the shints importancia pitra dellittar el contenido de la verda-

Hera praxis.

Deschelettos, en helitter negar, et con-Sideral due mieda mibbilise meniminante de praxis filosofica por el sillipie licilis tique una filosofia tempa consecuencias practicas. Ya deciamos en nuestra introducción que todas las grandes doctrinas filosofless las han tenido sierapie, cii ma-For a metter grade, that a meiles directafrente, en ennan der palgebellemeinente de las latelemes del filosofo, ban eant-plido elerta tunción social. Esto vido incluso para filosotias que -como el idealismo niemin- distaban mucho de pretentief servir a in transformation electiva del mundo. No se trata, bues, de 650.

Al pientearnos la cuestión de si la actividad filosófica puede ser praxis de por Mi, inter recelement à la fillesoffa que, villeulitth conseignementer a in practica, si pro-polici ser instribicato, prorigo us la telusformación de la realidad. Pensamos preelatmente en el proplo nuradano como filosofia que -de acuerdo con la Tesis XI sobre kenerbicht tiene presente inte se titut ha solo de interpretar el niundo, sino de transformatio. Puede declist que la actividad theoretica, en este caso, sea proxis, she birkhir pur un momento cl epitehth etgreettini itti helios tiido u este teridigis A nuestro Jucto, ja filosofia nt como interpretación del mundo ni como instrumento teórico de su transformación es de por si, de un modo directo e inmediato, praxis. La filosofia marxista, siendo Hect sall'almente una interpretación flentifica del mundo, respondo a necesidades

Diacticas Humanas; explesa, o su vez, una práctica existente y, por otro lado, Abilifa ethist lifitemente a sel guia du uha práxis Peroliciolist In Cor ello se aubrita la fulltion Medlogica y social de una filbadia that solo pilicale ele plactica on cuanto mas excluye la Utojia y trasciente sus élé-ficitos purintente literadeleus para ser. Ciricia. La que la diferencia de las col-.... things filbsoliens a title nighte Mark en la primera parte de su Tesis XI sobre Feuerbacili, asi como de otras austrinas socialistes es, pubs, su caracter eleminics, pers tanibleh - + hb secondarinmente - el rollebitse & 41 mislin en fullelon de la princis; ils tlerir, romo filosofia al Befvicio de la trimeformistion effettya; real, det timbido, littegrando asi la pinala 147614tionaria tuhio-rin de-ia troria:

La troria de por el —en este caso comb en cualquier otro— no transforma el mundo, s'ucde contribuir a su transforinación, pero para ello tienca que sulle do ki ndsmas, y, en primer lugar, tiene que ser asimulada por los que hon de susgitar, con sus aclus reales, efectivos, dicha transformación. Entre la teoría y la actividad práctica transformationa de hi-setta una labor de educación de las conciencias, de organización de los medios materiales y planes concretos de acción; todo erlo como paso indispensable para desarrollar acciones reales efectivas. En este sentido, una teoria es práctica en ethinid que materializh, a través de una serie de mediaelines, id que filites sol existid lifefillients, collis coreelbiledts do in syntidad o anticipación ideal de su timelor that ich.

Pero si la teoria de por el no cambla al niungo solo puede contribuir a transformatile justablicate comb teorie. Es deelf, la coffateion da postbilled -herest-rin, ainque insuficiente- para transitar conscientemente de la teuria a la praetica, y, por talito, phia que la plimera sumpla ulla función fractica, es que sea propia-mente una actividad leórica —en la quo las ingredientes costasentiens y infebioidebs si habeli littlimamente vibetiladus y Inditiathenty consideratos—. En este Jehtido, una tilosofia vinculada a la practica, que aspira conscientemente a realizarse, lejos de estreter de un contentido propis-inchia tenrico, in tie posserio ch toda sia liqueza. El paso de la tecria socialista de la forma utopien que tiene en Saint-Si-Proff: Pourier & Owen, & de las doctrinas Ethilibis and the Muses lies, a ja folma elettillea que feelbe en Mark y Engels entraña, pudiéramos decir, junto a una elevación de su función prae-tica, tina elevación de su contenido teó-fico, con la particularidad de que ambes 15 aspectos se hallan en una relación indisolutile.

La filosofia que se ve a si misma como Instrumento teórico do la praxis es teoria, v como tal no transforma real v efec-1.vamente de por si. Interpretar no es transformar. Pero de lo que se trata -- como dice Marx en la Tesis XI-- es de transformar: de ahi que la teoria hava de ser arrancada de su estado meramente teórico y, por las mediaciones adecuadas, tratar de realizarla. Pero este segundo aspecto que es vital cuando no se acepta el mundo como es y se trata de transformarlo, lejos de abolir el contenido teórico de la filosofia, o de reducirio a un ingrediente meramente ideológico, presupone aquet, necesariamente -at nivet de la ciencia-, como condición includible para guiar la acción. Así, pues, la actividad filosófica en cuanto tal no es praxis. Y no lo es tampoco la filosofia de la praxiso teoria de la actividad práctica del hombre en sus relaciones con la naturaleza y con etros hombres.

La concepción de la filosofía de la praxis como actividad práctica de por si es. a nuestro juicio, una concepción identista. incompatible con el verdadero concepto de la praxis que antes hemos delimitado. y entraña la vuelta a puntos de vista tilosóficos -como el de los jóvenes hegelia-

- 1 (1) C. Marx, Tesis (1) sobre Feurabach, en C. Marx. y F. Lugeis, La bienogla alemana, traduc, de W. Horse, Lift, Montevideo, 1959, pagina 633
- (2) Actividad es squi sinônimo de acción enfendeta tandién como aeto o confunto de actos que modifican una materia exterior o que es inmanente al agente.
- (3) Asimismo la centradicción fundamental del modo de producción capitalista es tambiés seintencional, er's resultado -- dire Mannice Codeller -ste la accida de todos los agenter del sistema y del desarrollo del sistema mismo, pero no ha sido nunca et proye to de ninguna conciencia al un fin querido por nadies, (M. Gotelier, Racionnillé et mucionalité en économie, Ed. Maapero, Paris, 1966, página 791
- ili Cf. a este tespecio la carta de Fageis a J. Bioch, del 21.22 de septiembre de 1890, en la que ei primeto dice; . . La nistoria se haco de tal modo, que el resultado final siempre deriva de los conflictor entre muchas voluntades individuales, cada una de las cua es, a su vez, as lo que es por efecto de una munitud de condiciones espectues de vida; son, pues, innumerables fuerzas que se Californian has must con has often, no grupo infitito de paralelogramos de fuerzas, de las que surgen ud tesultado -el aconfecimiento histórico -, tide, a au vez, puedo considerarso producto de una potencia unica, que, como un todo, actua sin coneiencla y sin voinntad ... De este modo hasta aquitoda la historia ha discurrido a modo de un proceso Patural y sometida también, austancialmente, a las nusmas lojes dinámicas. Pero del hecho de que las distintes voluntades individuales .. no sicancen lo que desean, sino que se fundan todas en

nos-, que va fueron criticados y superados por Marx precisamente para poder elaborar una filosofia como guia o listrumento teórico de la transformación de la realidad, v hacer posible asi la transformación ciectiva de és a.

La actividad filosóf ca -desligada de la práctica o vinculada conscientemente a ella-, como mera interpretación o como instrumento teórico de su transformación. cultivada por intelectu des de origen burgués o de origen prolet; rio, es siempre una actividad intelectual, teórica. La diferencia cualitativa por su carácter esencial -ideológico o cientific - o por la función que uma u otra f tosofía puede cumpllr, no basta para bi blar legitimamente de una praxis teórica.

En suma, la praxis e nos presenta como una actividad material, transformadora, y adecuada a fin s. Fuera de ella, queda la actividad teó lea que no se materializa, en cuanto au cer actividad esoiritual pura. Pero por otra parte, no hav praxis como actividad i uramente material. es decir, sin la producc ón de fines y conocimientos que caracteriza la actividad teórica. Ello quiete decir que el problema de determinar qué es la praxis requiere delimitar más a fondo las relaciones entre teoría y práctica.

una medida fotal, en una resultante común, no debe inferuse que estas voluntades senn igual a cero. Por el contrario, tod a contribuyen a la 10suttante y se hallan, por 1 oto, incluidas en clinis IC. Mark v. R. Eagels, Ohr, t escouldas, en dos tomos, ed. esp., tomo f. Moseu 1952, páginas 459-460.)

(5) Sobre la finalidad como categoria especifica de la actividad humana y sus relaciones con la causalidad, véase mi estu lo «Contribución a la distectica de la finatidad y la causalidad», Anuatio de Fliosofia, UNAM, an I, Mévico, 1961, págic

- (6) C. Marx, El Capital, Critica de la economia política, traducción de W. Buces, 3a. ed. especial, t. I. Fondo de Cultura Éconómica, México-Buenos Aires, 1964, páginas 130-13:,
- (7) Mary, El Capital, ed, esp, cit., t. I., p. 131.
- (5) Rabiamos aqui de le teórico en un sentido amplio que abarea tanto la esfera de los fines como de los conocimientos. En e te sentido lo teórico su contrapone -no do un melo absoluto, sino relativo, como veremos en el capitulo siguiente- a lo practico. En un sentido mi e restringido, lo teórico - el dominio de la teoria- le aplica a un conjunto de conceintentes agiutinad s en torno a un principio unificador que los arti ula y sistematiza constituyendo asi un campo ele itifico dado,
- (9) C. Marx, El Capital, :, I, página 131.
- (10) C. Marx, Tesis (I) stbre Penerbach, ed. clt. pagina 633.

- " (11) «El trabajo es, en primer término -dice" Marx-, un proceso entre la naturaleza y et hombid, process ou que éste se tentica, regula y controla mediante su propia acción, su intercambio de materias con la naturaleza». (Fl Capital L pá-
- · (12) C. Marx, Prólogo a la Contribución a la eritica de la economia política, en C. Marx y F. Engels, Obras escogidas, ed. esp. cit., L. I. pagin.is 332-333
- (13) C. Marx, El Capital, I, ed. cit., página 130.
- (14) Ibidem, página 131.
- (15) Ibidem, página 132.
- (10) Hildem.

. (17) Al annilizar la concepción de Marx del procero de trabajo en El Capital, Louis Aithusser subraja, interpretando el pasaje correspondiente, la naturaleza material de las condiciones del procero de trabajo y el panel dominante de los medies de producción en dicho proceso. A fulcio suvo. el proceso de trabajo se linha determinado por essacondiciones materiales (set proceso de trabajo games mecanismo material se halla denominado por las leyes físicas de la naturaleza y de la tecnologia»). At mostrarse ast las condiciones materiales irrequetibles del proceso de trabajos, Marx rompe con la concepción del «trabajo como escucia del hombres y con el sidentismo del trabajos que esta concepción -- propia de los Manuscritos de 18:1entinha (Cf. L. Aithusser, «L'objet du Capital», en el t. Il de Life Le Capital, F. Maspero, Paris, 1965, paginas 144-149).

I. Altauser tiene razón al pronunciarse contra una eldeologia antropológica del trabajos y, por ello, procede justamente at subrayar la importancia de las condiciones materiales del trabajo, lo que le lleva a eletenerse sobre todo en dos de los elementos constitutivos de dicho proceso según Marx Pero en au analisia omito por completo el estudio del tercero de ellos: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o trabajo proplamente dicho. Es esa omisión la que le permite contraponer radicalmente en esia cuestión los Manuscritos de 1844 a El Capital at reducir la concepción de la prime a obra a elc'enlismo del trabajo» y la de la segunda a una econcepción materialista de la producción». A nucatro juicio, la importancia de ese tercer factor del proceso de trabajo -señatado en distinta forma tanto en los Manuscritos de 1844 como en El Capital- es la que mantiene cierta continuidad entre una y otra concepción sin que por ello se borren sus diferencias esenciales.

- (18) C. Marx, El Capital, I, ed. cit., página 130.
- (19) C. Marx, El Capital, t. I, ed. cit., página 130.

- (20) Sobre las refaciones entre el arte y el trahajo, y la concepción del trabajo actistico como eyeneldir, sana int illien, Lau idene aufottens da Mara (Ed. Ers. México, D. F'. 1965), partiquiare mente los estudios titulados et marxismo rontemeporaneo y el artes y clas ideas de Marx sobre ia fuente y naturaleza de lo estéticis,
- (21) Ya en La Sograda Familia decian Marx Y Regela: stas idena no pueden conducte nutten mas Blid do ine ideas del viego entido universal de cosas. Las ideas no pueden nunca ejecutar nada. Para la elecución de las ideas hacen falla los hombres que bonçan en acción una fuerza práctican (C. Morx y F. Engel., La Sagrada Familia, ed. esp. cit., página 185).
- (22) e... El metodo que permille elevared de lo abstracto a lo concicio no es otra cora que el mode come el rensamiento se apropia la concrate bata la forma de la concreto nessado. Pero no esde ninguna manera le concrete mismo, (Contricesa, Paris, 1957, página 165)
- (23) En ocasiones se empiea in expresión «praxis» o epiActica teoricas, prim designar una epractica expendien que se ejeren sobre un abjate propiet y conduce a au producto prop e un conscimientos fla Althusser, Pour Mary, Parts, 1965, página 275% En este caso, se presenta como una forma especifica de la mácilea en gineral, entendida como eproceso de transformación de una materia prima dada y determinada en un "poducto determinado, transformación que se beva a cube por un trabajo humano determinado, utilizando medios ida producción) determinados», (fold m. página 167). La práctica teórica asi entendida corresponde en gran parte --no totalmente, puesto que nosotros incluitros también en ella la producción de fines- a lo que nosotros denominados netividad teórica.

Althusser no emplea, por tarto, esta espresión en el sentido idenlista, tan firmemente rechazado por Marc, de producción de ideas que transforma per al intama la resoldad. La cafuerza naimianas per autrayar el eniáctic distintivo e frecentiazable de la spractica teóricas (c'. también a esta respecto su estudio Teoria, práctica teórica y formación teórica. Ideología y lucha ideológica, en la revista Casa de las Américas, número 34, La Habana, Cuba, páginas 13-17), Sin embargo, la extension del termino «practica» a todo tipo de relación o ap opinción del namos real, incluyendo po sólo la teórica e ldeniógica, sino tumbién la ética y la religiosa (cf. Lire Le Capital, I, página 85) hace que se borre et caracter esencial de la praxis que Marx justamente pretendió destacar (como transformación efectiva, real de un objeto real) frente a un eldealismo de la praxico (reduce ción de ésta a la actividad teórica o moraly. Creemos, por ello, que el empleo del término «práctica» alli donde no se ocupera esa transformación objetiva y real induce a confusión peso al empeño en dife-

renciar sus formas especificas.

Dase ecomómica y superestructuras ideológicas charles Bettelleim.

Los objetivos fundamentales persegui-168 pdf tödos los jülses tille lida Inteinto 18 via del seclalismo, consisten on princilpio en estorarse en realizar tanto transprintationes de mass comb transformaciotres sliperistric funticis, es desir, hielitapor tilla prestructuration social (y no solo remionica), y por transformaciones ideotogicas profuntas; sunque hay distintus buntos de vista aberea de los itzos tille lida a esas diversis transfolmaciones,

En Chias se subraya con frecuencia que su tueta na consiste solo en lograte ritana de désarcolla más tápidos que los que pued de dicalifár el cupitalismo silo familian y sobre todo prómover una fineva formación social con sus normas de comportaciones y subriesticias especificas.

Desde el pinho de vista matxista la pursecución de ese objetivo no se debe a una opción arbitraria sino al reconocimiento de una exigencia histórica impuesta por el niver del desarrollo posible de las fuerzas productivos modernes. El reconocimiento de tal exigencia histórica significa la aceptación de que sin un cambio radical no sóble de las relaciones de propiedad sino tumbién del conjunto del modo de producción y de la superestructura de la sociedad las fuerzas productivas o no pueden desarrollarse o sólo se desarrollan de manera contradictoria, es decir, engendrando fuerzas destructivas crecientes tanto en el plano

Hitlerläl föline ett el de los þreðliðs hoffibres. Estos últimos sói éselavizádos cáda tez higs þöf sils þiði los þroðluetos, ineltyjendo la esfera del veitstimö.

Jacques Charriere

Más especificamente, el análisis ante-भाग आग्रामिक समार हो गारिक मामान हो भाग diffeion, el mudu de pro decion socialista. no puede progresar y hanteherse sin la edificación de estructur is adecuadas, es decif, Bartlellarhiette di felaciones sociales, abilitibes, conflorial billos e lifetts sticiples delevinimales. Sit superestructuras attenuties, in inserventionien solve in que and the strict by sucialism , bein antennenda por finisformaciones to resigns, tanto al nivel de las relaciones de producción como a: nivel de las propias fut reas productivas. Estas últimas, en efecto, corren el peligro the progressir ends vez et i mayor lentitud si no encarnan con rapid z las actitudes y reimportamiento que exig : el desarrollo de la sociedad socialista y, sobre todo, si dichas actitudes, conducta; y sistemas de vulores adecuados tiende i no a fortificarse sino a estancarse, en fi vor de actitudes, conductas y sistemas de valores que caracterizan a las formas sociales anteriores y que conservan todavia una base objetiva en las condiciones mater ales, mientras el nivel de las fuerzas productivas no se haya elevado suficientemente.

Por lo tanto, la cuestión que se plantea es la de las reluciones en tre la base eco-

nómica y las superestructuras correspondientes. Según la interpretación mecanicista de dicho problema, se puede pensar que toda forma de producción engendra en última instancia nuevas actitudes, nuevos sistemas de valores, una nueva ideología y un hombre nuevo.¹⁹

Por el contrarlo, la interpretación dialéctica del problema nos lleva a pensar que si el progreso de una forma de producción (es decir, de sus fuerzas productivas y de sus relaciones de producción) constituye la condición necesaria de la transformación de la superestructura, esta última, dentro de ciertos limites, tiene un dinamismo propio y, sobre todo, que puede ejercer una acción regresiva sobre la misma base económica. No es inútil recordar aqui algunas de las interpretaciones que se han formulado de ciertos textos de Marx y Engels,

Ura interpretación estrecha de algunos párrafos del Manifiesto Comunista o del Anti-Duhring ha originado a veces una interpretación mecanicista que, sin embargo, es contraria a los análisis globales que nos han dejado Marx y Engels. En efecto, éstos incistleron slempre en el carácter global de las transformaciones sociales y, por tanto, en la interacción de los diferentes elementos cuya suma constituye la totalidad de una formación social.

Por ejemplo, Engels en su libro sobre El origen de la familia, de la propoedad privada y del Estado, ha puesto de relieve las profundas influencias que pueden tener ciertos elementos de la superestructura ideológica sobre la evolución social. Así, cuando analiza la incapacidad de la sociedad esclavista para dar lugar directamente a un nuevo método de producción favorable al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, insiste en el "desprecio hacia el trabajo productivo" heredado de la sociedad esclavista, y que representa un freno al desarrollo.

Engels escribe: "La esclavitud... al morle, dejó detrás de si su aguljón venenoso bajo la forma de proscripción del trabajo productivo por los hombres libres. Tal es el callejón sin salida en el cual se encontraba el mundo romano: la esclavitud era económicamente imposible, y el trabajo de los hombres libres estaba moralmente proscrito. La primera no podia ya y el segundo no podia aún ser la forma básica de la producción social. La única salida posible era una revolución radical. (2)

En ese texto podemos ver claramente de que manera una actitud ("el desprecio hacio el trabajo productivo"), so convierte en un obstáculo al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y cómo Engels estima que solo una revolución completa podía transformar suficientemente el elemento de la superestructura para que fueran posibles nuevos progresos.

Ya que hemos recordado el anterior texto de Engels, que tiene su equivalente para otras époces en multitud de análisis marxistas, " no es inútil recordar iguialmente que Engels prolonga su análisis de la revolución que tuvo lugar entre el quinto y el neveno siglos de méstra era, ya que sertrata esencialmente de una revolución que se efectuó al nível de las superestructuras ideológicas y que adaptó estas últimas a las exigencias de las nuevas fuerzas productivas. 9.

Engels subraya que a lo largo de los cuatro siglos durante les cuales tuyo lugar dicha revolución, no lado prácticamente ningún progreso, ni en las fuerzas productivas, ni en las relaciones de producción. A pesar de los grandes cambios a que dio lugar la caida del Imperio Romano y las invasiones de las tribus germánicas, encontramos bajo una nueva etiqueta, las viejas formes de propledad y las viejas relaciones de producción.

Escribe Engels: "Así, pues, parecia como si al cabo de cuatro siglos la masa de la población hubiese vuelto a su punto de partida". "De Sin embargo, añade inmediatumente, se hubia avanzado, porque aun cuando las clases sociales seguian siendo casa las mismas, "los hombres que formatan estas clases habían cambiado"."

La referencia a estos análisis sólo en apariencia nos aleja de nuestro tema, el del lucar especialmente importante que so atribuye en China a la editesión de las masas alistema de valores, de actitudes y comportamiento que corresponde a las exigencias de la construcción de la sociedad socialista.

Por otra parte, los anteriores análisis nos conducen a rechazar ciertas interpretaciones mecanicistas de las relaciones entre la base económica y la superestructura. Incluso autores que, por lo demás, abordan buen número de problemas desde un punto de vista dialéctico, han sugerido interpretaciones de ese tipo.

Asì, hay una cierta interpretación mecanicista en el capitulo 2 del Tomo I del Tratado de Economía Politica de Oskar Lenge. En ese texto, la eliminación de la no-correspondencia entre las relaciones de producción, por una parte, y el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y el carácter de esas fuerzas, por la otra, apa-

En la misma obra, se d'ee: "Es la neción de la segundo ley fondemental de la sociologia (nolen) restablece la correspondencia entre la superestructura y las entgenelas de la mieva base econômica..."(9)

Tales formulaciones sugieren la acción unilateral de las fuerzas productivas cobre las relaciones de producción, y de la base econômica sobre la superestructura. El mismo esquema aparece er la página 28 -de la obra mencionada; en ese esquema, las "flechas" sólo significan que hay un movimiento de "abajo hacia arriba".

> Un corolado lónico de esta concención en la idea del "carneter conservador tanto do la base econômica como do la superestrue: tura", " Una y otra son vistas esencialmente como obstáculos al progreso de las facerzas productivas y como algo incapaz de adaptarse sin retraso, bajo la acción de las dos "leyes fundamentales de la sociologia".

> Aun cuando Oskar Lango reconoce que el cambio de una forma social a otra constituye un proceso maléctico, porque resultade la solucion de una serie de contratueciones, la descripción que ofcece de dichoproceso es unilalecal. Se limita a invertir la dialéctica ingeliana, pero deja escaparla especificaladede la dialectica històrica. Esta última se desarroba a través de contradicciones no solo operada, sino pensodas. Por otro lado, las con cadicciones no se resuelven por la intervención de una "ley" abstracta, sino por a intervención de las clases o capa escelules que integran obletivamente uno de los polos de la contradicción principal de une época, y que toman conclenela de ella.

> Sólo asi puede nacer una ideología o una conciencia revolucionaria, es decir, los elementos de una nueva seperestructura. La superestructura, lejos de tener un enracter conservation, conduct por el contrario, a la transfermeción de la base económica y a un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas, 101

> Cuando se analizar en términos marxistas las transformaciones de la superestruetura que condicionan un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas, con frecuencia se consideran esenciales en el análisis las transformaciones politicas y juridicas, la sustitución de un tipo de Estado por otro, del dominio de una c'ase por otra, de relaclones de propiedad y de producción por otras. En efecto; se trata de transforma-

ciones decisivas, va au permiten la sustitución de una vieja s perestructura que obstaculiza el desarrollo de las fuerzos procurtivas, por una nuev: , mejor adantada * ece desarrollo. Sin en bargo, tales transformaciones son posibl a porque las clases unios deminadas han rechazado la ideologia anterior (que les l'abia hecho aceptar el antigao orden de coe is) y se han adherido, al menos en lo es neia', a una nueva idoologia que expresa r lejor las exigencias de las fuerzas product vas y de las relaclones de producción correspondientes, es decir, las exigencias de la base econômica. En este caso se lince evidente que la idenlogia no es un factor de resistencia al cambie, sino, por el contrarlo, uno de sus elementos motoves.

El papel de la ideol gia no se limita a la face més aguda de una transformación re al, De becho, toda auteva forum noclal sólo puede desarrollarse si la ideología que exige su funcionar ilento es crela vez más profundamente, a ideología dominante. Así, según la neturaleza y el grado de dominación y penetración en las masas de una ideologia dada, ésta puede frenar el desarrollo de las fue zas productivas o, por el contrario, contril uir a su desarrollo.

Las indicaciones precedentes no sólo ticnea un interés teórico. En efecto: si se subraya de una manere unilateral el papel de la base económica, e distirá la tendencia a Impulsor esencialme de el progreso de esta base, y en parti ular, el progreso de las fuerzos producti as, el surgimiento de una superestructura ideológica adecuada (en virtud de la "regunda ley fundamental de la sociología ').

Por el contrario, al sereconoce que hay una acción reciproca entre la base y la superestructura, al mismo tiempo que se impulsa directamente el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas (por la politica económica), se buscará ta abién en las masas el progreso de la ideolo; ía que corresponde a la nueva base econócnica, en particular a través de la educación. Esta última debeprocurar que de apare can las actitudes y comportamientos he edados del pasado y sustituirles por acitudes, comportamientos y sistemas nuevos de valores, correspondientes a las extrencias mismas del desarrollo de las fuerzo i productivas.

Parece indispensable reconocer que este papel de la educación : de la ideología es tanto más necesario, cuando más avanzadas estén las relaciones de producción y propiedad establecido por un proceso revolucionario, sobre el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas en un país dado.

El avance (ii) del réi inen politico y su-

cial sobre el nivel local del desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, da lugar, en efecto, a un tipo particular de contradicción, a una contradicción que favorece el progreso rápido de las fuerzas productivas, con la condición de que esté influida correctamente y conscientemento dominada. Esta última forantación no alguifica que sólo a través de un desarrollo de la conciencia se encuentra asegurado el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas (12), sino más bien que, en ese caso, la conciencia de las relaclones reales de producción y de las contradicciones que pueden caracterizarias, ente radinch eb biblioges at ominar estas contradicciones por un comportamiento

ciones sin eficacia social. Sólo después de este largo redeo nodemos volver a ciertas caracteristicas espe elficas de la construcción del socialismo en China.

adrenado, son necesarias al progreso de

Para ser socialmente significativas, la

conciencia y la capacidad deben expresarse

no sólo en términas de conceptos y cono-

cimientos, sino también en forma de orga-

nización y actitudes que interpreten de

manera apropiada los sistemas de volures

y de accion. Si faltan catos ú timos, las

categorias conceptuales y el conocimiento

o la conciencia no son mas que abstrac-

las fuerzas productivas.

1. En realidad, la misma interpretación mecanicista de las reinclores entre los diferentes niveles de la vida social, ha ties Ando a algunos marcistas a pensor que el progreso de las fuerzas productivas es suffciente para engendrar todas las condiciones de la transformación revolucio. naria de un modo de producción, mientras que en realidad dicho progreso es la condición básica de esa transformación: finalmente, la transformación no se produce sino a través de las centra. dicciones sociales y de la acción política que engendran estas últimas, es decir, por una acción consciente de los hombres.

- 2. F. Engels, El origen de la familia, la propicdad y el Estado, Ediciones en Lengues Extranjeras, 1952, Moscú, Tomo II, på-
- 3. Es conocida la célebre finac de Lenin: "las ideas se convierten en fuerzas cuando penetran en las masas". (Lenin, Obras Completas, Tomo XXI. Ediciones Sociales Internacionales, 1930, página 340).
- 4. En efecto, las ideas se convierten en fuerzas positivas cuando corresponden a ins exigencias del desarrollo nocial, en decir. at fivel de los fuerzas moducations y de las relaciones sociales existentes o en proceso de formación,
- 5. F. Enge's, El origen de la familia... op. cit., pagina 283.
- 6. (Ibid., nágina 281). El análisis que presenin Eugels de esta "transformeción de los hombres" ("amos y esclavos") es extraordin triamente intere ante. Engels aubraya que los hombres de la Europa occidental del siglo noveno, no es habían formado "con la decadencia de una civilización aponizonte, sino entre los dolores del parto de una civilización nueva"

Esta "nueva civilización", "en piena vita-lidad de desarrollo", debia sus carecteris. tiens a las instituciones, actitudes, comporfamientos e ideas específicas que introduieron has tribus gernanicas,

Hablando de esas tribus y del origen de su contribución tevolucionaria, en el preciso mntido de la transformación de los hombres, Engels escribet

"Su expanded y su valentia personales, su espiritu de libertad y su instinta dentocrático... en una palabra, todas las cualidades que los romanos habían perdido ... ¿qué eran sino los rasgos carneteristicos de los harbaros del cein lio setercior de la herharle, for fritten de ait constitución gen-

(Ibid., página 245), y precisa: "Sus hábltos de gentiles, las supervisencias, vivas entre clius, de los tiempos del derecho materno" y sus "comunidades de las pequefias cludades".

Aqui. Engels subrava el aporte decisivo de las instituciones, de las ideas y de las cual'dades morales caracteristices del "estadie superior de la barbânie" a la revolución que se detatrollo entre el quinto y el novono sigios. En tanto que la sociedad surgida del antiguo esclavismo había perdido roda su vitalidad, ablo bárbaros eran canaces de rejuvenecer un mundo servil que suitis una exvilización moribanda", (Enge's, Ildd., pagma 286).

- Oskar Lange, accinonia Politique, Presses Universitaire de France, Paris, 1962, XVII-403, página 42.
- 8. Ibid., página 42.
- 9. Ibid., página 43; cf. también páginas 39 a 11 e, igualmente, péginas 43 a 48 de 14 Ittinittia tilita.
- 10. Dicho progreso revolucio ario es descrito brevemente y de manera parcial por Oskar Lange en la obra chada (páginas 47 y 48), pero sin demostrar que en esto consiste el proceso real de toda transfor. mación social radical, ya que tal punceso implica necessrlemente una acción revolucionatia que no se presenta sino cuando ciertos elementos de la surriretatidad, las ideas, las actitudes, etchtera, se ha integrado y encarnado en la conciencia de elase revolucionaria", y en la forma conereta de organizaciones a través de las ules esta constencia de clase toma cuery se extiress.
- 11. Según la expresión bien conocida de Levid, cuando hatila de la Rusia Soviética como un "pais politicamente avanzado y económicamente atrasado".
- 12. Tal interpretación parece ser la de Erneste Che Guevara en au articul, "La planifica. ción socialista, su significado", en "Cuba Socialista", junio de Ibil, phylnus 13 a 24 cf. página 17 in fine.

LA PALNIA DELA MANO

José Lezama Lima

La palma de la mano sobre el río. La palma paso a paso, hacia mí, levéndome, Narciso mascado por la niebla ascendente, vuelven los dioses descensores. Orfeo y Stephanophorophoro. El índice demuestra, señala la inflexible Hanura de la nieve, demuestra, El indice demuestra la carreta sobre un hilo. la diagonal con cuerpo de cocodrilo y cabeza de gavilán, el anillo de oro en el tumor de la luna. La mano se extiende sobre la llanura de nieve, la palma de la mano acompasa la boga del río. La carreta conduce un canoso reloj de pared. Icaro con dos guadañas. Saturno se come las alas de cera. Se extiende, demuestra, se dela lecr. learo, ya caldo, nadando, habla con el Resucitado sentado en el légamo. El vencido por el sol regresa con las estaciones y el que triunfa de la muerte se vuelve a morir. Es un bodegón de cebolla, manzana y amapolas, El aire está exprimido en el nuño que se cierra, el arador por la palma de la mano deja el reminiscente batido y batihojas. el desco paliducho, la scrpiente, el doble del comienzo, el truchimán vindicativo. circulo que golpea en las narices. La capota caída se mide por su sombra. Icaro vencido y el Resucitado vencedor, el Resucitado esperando la muerte y el Icaro eterno relator. En su sangre el laberinto y el torete oscuro luchando con el tigre dormido.

2 Outen de bruces acompacado en la corledad del relojero Arrugado, puro detesto, cara de rompeolas. El Principe de Praga, reloiero sin desebs. dlibgado en el feloj de agua, ola bot ola ola sin succesión. ola para olos Ill thempo combinando detrás de los pestañas vono elefante) casquetes, medialuñas, fitsolitifates montes lloritones. verde portezuela y amafillo prestidigitador, abrian el bostezo en la cantina-escandinava: un penique nor cada bostezo v va de contra el bigotillo para el perrequete circulante. pero el tiempo no es como el aguacero intle table les grietas y baidea el puelle parabolles de la gultarra. Tenning inic mette et tiemps por el univen de los ojos y cerrar los ojos y el murmillo que nos va devorando tuinulo nos silmerelinos di la madre de carbon. Sumeraldes totta intecritia midde llegar a ser eulea, tan pronto surge la pelifemaida del otro. los mertillazos desconchedos en el calculo de la resistencia sombrenda. Los entorchados del fusilamiento, el pez egipcio sallando al sol, nueden hacer el perado inocente. El tie-tae raspado es pecador en 1515 y después es inocente en Osiris. III finete escita peca sin testes y la franja celeste rompe el cantaro de las bodas. Así seguinios colocando la drillos en el miliro y sobre los muros cascos de botella, asi nos cosimos la oreja en el cancan.

1007



LA CASA DE CARLOS

PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Roque Dalton

Carlos Jurado sufrió tante en su infancla, que en cuanto se cará escoció como hogar aquella casa de la zona 12 del DF, adornada con una cabeza de caballo en el portón. Era una cara enorme, dividida en innumerables pisitos, buhardillas y simples rincones, donde las veraneras y los facintos parecian engordar de humedad y de sol matutico, con o pupilas de metrona provinciana que l'evase una alacena repleta de mermelada de grosella en vez de corazón y quien, luego de la merlenda de las diez, hubiese gastado un cuarto de hora en consun h su puro de mariguana que le abriria el apetito para el almuerzo. En el laberrate de sus jardines y corredores se perdió hace años Chaflân, aquel olvidado cómico de cine me-Nicano, del cual tuvieron luego que decir que había muerto, ahogado o apoplégico, en el extranjero. Precisamente la mujer de Carlos, Chichai, encontraria sa esque-24 leto bigotudo detrás de una maceta de ge-

ranios en marzo de 1965 y, a fin de res. catarlo para hacerb clavar en la gran cruz de la biblioteca dormitorio, tuvo que disputarlo scriamente durante toda una mañana a una vasta jauria de cucarachas doradas, Carlos paradólicamente, se habia enamorado a p linera vista de las rejas españolas que ado naban muchos de los ventanales interiores de la casa, porque le recordaban las de San Ceistóbal de Las Casas y las de su propio hogar allú, que poc cierto le servian de jaula-prisión cuando lo castigaban por mojar la cama a los ocho nños de ca'ad, exponiéndolo a las miradas de los trans úntes que marcha- . ban friolentamente a misa, con aquel cartel autocritico colgado del pecho: "Soy meón y cagón". Carl is minea perdonó a su familia la imputación calumniosa del segundo pecado. Aquilla casa, para empezar a decir algo fun ional a su respecto, era deliciosa de habi ar, tal esos sueños que se nos repiten de quando en cuando y

de no se qué, cuyos definitivos perfiles y texturas venimos tan sólo a comprender 23 horas antes de movir. Hablamos, desde luego, para personas que han nacido o viven en el Hemisferio Norte. Era eso si. una casa enemiga del Invierno. Cuando llegaban las lluvias, el caballo del portón se volvia rojo de ira y desde debajo de las tejas surgian miles de tentaculillos vibrátiles, renatados en diminutos paragillas color sangre azul que formaban una capecie de pleura monumental que rechazaba el agua y convertia las calles adyacentes en Niágaras de barrio. Las paredes echaban una pelusa lanosa de un continetro de espesor, lo cual no les Impedia, sin embargo, tiritar en las madrugadas, derrumbando en los interiores reproducciones de Siqueiros, depósitos de agua bendita, diplomas de Abogados y Dentistas, Desde sus patios, ventanas, claraboyas, no se podia ver nunca la luna en esa temporada, aunque esplendiese. llena, en las escampadas: para ello habia que cruzar la calle. De allí que algunos opinen que, además de la picura aquella, la casa se erigia entonces una cúpula invisible que para el ojo humano no detenia sino los rayos de la luna. Porque las estrellas se miraban lo mismo. Y los pájaros. En el invierno cumbiaba en la casa el tono del eco hasta adoptar el de un viejo bajo acatarrado impostando la voz con pésimo oficio tentral para demostrar ira patética. No importaba entonces que la voz original fuera del piño de una familia de violinistas, acostumbrado a hacer sus requerimientos fundamentales a fuerza de chilidos especialmente agudos, o de una señorita asustacita, ubicable en algún Buró Político de la Orden Tercieria del Santisimo Sacramento, en plena reacción oral ante los sustos curativos del hipo. No es que la casa se volviese en aquel tiempo incómoda o agresiva. Todas aquellas transformaciones poseian su propla gravedad y hermosura y más bien construlan un mundo especial de seres objetos y fenómenos relacionados entre si con una disciplinada, responsable armonia, similar a la de las pasiones shakespearenns, que, desde juego, podríamos

nos van configurando poco a poco un ideal

tas, unicamente con el argumento de que toda ella estaba basada en el odio al invierno. Y hablar luego con toda hipocresia de las necesidades de la producción de cereales, de los pastos para el ganado de leche, de las sequias en el Brasil y sus hambrunas concomitantes. Hasta alli somos capaces de llegar, estéticamente cobardes como, de vez en cuando, somos. Oh, queridas fectoras, pero jqué indiscutibilidad reenia sobre la belieza de aquella casa cuando llegeba la primavera! Ni los espiritus más audaces serian capaces de racionalizar a primera vista la absoluta integralidad de la misma y más bien comenzarian por confundicia con una simple, aunque esplendente, paz, un orden de integración a los días en que la naturaleza se despereza y se lava la cara, una --con el perdón de ustedes y en última instancia-táctica. Por el contrario, la casa en primavera era la casa como nunca, lógicamente cerrada sobre si, poblada de innumerables datos que nos decian de surelación directa cen lo Absoluto, fulgurante en medio de una sequedad de agua dura, como una cameralda o una espada pulimentada para muestrario, soberbia en fin, como una bailarina de dieciscis años cuando se incorpora del iccho sobre la segunda hora de amor y nos deja, mientras se mete en el cuarto de baño para sentarse en el bidet, con una mano en alto, lánguida y expectante a la vez, como en el instante de iniciar el Pas de Quatre, y nos deja, decia, felices, pero con una bolita de duda entre las manos que de pronto comienza a crecer hasta tomar un tamaño tal que nos vemos abismados a iniciar con ella (o sea, la ex-bolita de duda), angustiados, un nuevo cuerpo a cuerpo con el que no contábamos, que a lo mejor no nos permitirá ese cuarto episodio, el que decimos preferir por cuanto nos permite conocer desde ahora las urgencias de los placeres de la madurez y cuya misma posibilidad se nos torna de pronto problemática porque Ella nos ha liamado con suavidad desde el baño y nos ha dicho que no enementra la llave del agua caliente, pero à pesar de todo nos quiere mucho y además va a pedirnos que 25

objetar, en uso de una morelidad agnafies-

nos asomemos parque se le antoja vernos desnudes un poquitin, Cemo un joven jefe de Estado Mayor que dirige, antes que nadie, la batalla. Poro ma parece que habiabamos de alguien, en algún lugar de México. Y como momentáneamento no se

si so trataba do alguna referencia, en elgón sentido, política, permitaseme que haga un parentesia preventivo para ublcarme en mi nor asi estado de responsabilidad. Alguna de ustedes podría ayudarme, digo yo.

PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Colores andrégines, un i verdadera Patagonia de colorea, acceli intes, anútriones de la duda, impermeable: a la mayor voracidad, erganizadamente milvaica, manducables como una neo emfonia japonesa. escuchaba junto al sol que te ha despertado de la más larga noche de ninor. Los pajarillos no temen de Cawaldo Barreto Bi de mi, posiblemente nos confunden con dos obreros de las fábricas de embutidos de Piaga. Por el contratio, silban sobre nuestras caperas valses para Banda Municipal y nos hacen avergorgarnos (vergonzosa vermienza) de los critos de nuestrea urracas y nuestros querques, de la ehachalaquena de las bandadas de rerices, de la pescozada sonora del azacuan berido en tiempo de frio. "A las seis de dice Ingra al traer los tatros humosos. Es, pues, aste, un peligroso jugar. Como para decir, a la hora del cropisculo (aunque es ann demania lo tempr mo para penser an el, cetimadas todas las cautelas); "La vida, en general, ha sido bella", P.eelsamente ayer, después de discutir cobra la exectiva carga sexual de la literatura moderna, visitamos una granja de cerdos, Veterinarios con gabacras blancas examinatan a los gigantescos animales rosquos con estetoscopios respetantes, a la vez que conmovedores, mientras demandaban de montros que no habiáramos en voz alta. Antes de entrar, nos habian cubierto el Fostro con horales de gasa, para evitar que nuestros microhios personales se quedaran alli. Se nos dijo que el lugar estaba

incluso alciedo de les carreteras y las vias de ferrocarrit, pue todo reido extraño asusta infinitamente a los cerdos, los haco perder peso y los Liedo matar del corazón. Nunca vi cercos con más aspecto de hijo de puta que estes. Son jamones vivientes, con horril les venitas azules por todos lados, insolen es, idénticos a Monteñor Francisco Cistro y Ramírez, un exageradamente sob arbio obispo del oriento de mi país, Oswal p Bacreto, de pronto y sin advertirmelo, emitto el más agudo alarido que recuero y haber pido en los últimos cinco años. El desconcierto cundió como deria un novelista hondureño. sobre todo porque les cordex comenzaron a mostrar síntomas e a angustia que pronto se transformaron el una especie de ataque de asma colectivo. Los veterinarios corrian espantados le aqui hacia alia y nuestro guia, absolutamente furioso y tembión, lo dijo a Oswajdo: "La regia aqui es el silencio", "Yo suelo gritar -contestó éste- s y venezolano". "Al pala que fueres haz o que vieres" -citó. popular, pero no n'enos tensamente, el guia, "Cuando Uds, I egar, o Venezuela no los obligamos a gri ar" -- semenció Os. waldo importurbable antes do quo yo lo sacara cusi a empu mes del lugar. Cast vomité de la risa, Como cuando vi aquel rótulo en una calle ca Sautiago de Chilet "Zorobah il Galeno, sustre militar". Aunque ahora no recuerro lo que tal anuncio tenia de gracioso. Os valdo pago, no obstante, su delito: ano he sono que lo habian echado para a rás en sus estudios

y que se encontraba de nuevo en cuarro año de secundaria, iniciado un examen final de trigonometria sin saber ni siquiera promunciar la palabra enteto. Despertó sudando en plena madrug da y me ha despertado también para pascar un poco y buscar cerveza. Entonces es que yo he decidido habiar sobre la primavera. Espoca del año en que florecen hasta los futbolistas, como todo el mundo sabe. Y que en Checoslovaquia se transforma en una orden edilicia para bañarse entre las truchas o buscar hongos y muchachas deserviria de secundada de la contra del contra de la c

nuosa najo ei soi que us junos dei nosqua dejan bajar al suclo. Mañana volveremos a Praga con la cara quemada nor ese sol. Oswaldo Barreto y yo debemos salir de estos lugares lo más pronto posible, so pena de ponernos a tener hijos rabios con Zdenas y Janas y engordar a fuerza de grandes filetes, algodomoros melocotomes y fresas con crema, hasta olvidar que alguien está muriendo mai en nuestra vieja casa, preguntando por nosotros con perenteriedad. Viva esta primavera, sin embargo.

DEBATE LBERTO MORAVIA

and the second s

"L'Expresse" de Roma organiză, recientemente, un debate entre el escriter Alberto Moravia y los estudiantes Massimbiano Puksas, Serglo Pétruccioli y Duccio Staderini, quinto año de Arquitectura; Valerio Veltroni, primer año de Filosofia, y Oreste Scalzone, tercer año de Filosofia. El temat del debate se centra en la critica y en la eposición a esta última generación de intele, terdes contra aquellos que se dicen equierdistas y contra aquellos que dominer el mundo de la cultura oficial. Este debate polémico pone de manifecto las contradicciones entre ideologia y vida práctica de algunos intelectuales.

Moravia: Yo pertenezeo a ese tipo de proletario que se llama a si mismo artista. Los objetos que yo fabrico son novelas y drimas, o sea, que logro crear de la unda, con mis manos o mejor dicho con inl mente, algo que untes no existia, y lo vendo, Si estaviera en la China no pourfacolocur not productor porque no hay demanda, en la c'ham de hoy, para productos como los mass. En Italia esa demanda existe parcialmente; de todos formas yovendo estos productos a quien los pagaregin las leves del mercado, porque, como he dicho, vivo de un trabajo en un peis, que es Italia. No podria cofaborar en diarios partidarios pues no pertenezco a partido alguno, es decir tengo mis propias ideas que, en ciertas ocasiones, preden o no coincidir con los de algan partido. Si yo colaborara con Unità (Organo del Par-

tido Comunista), po ejemplo, no podria e cribir todo lo que se me ocurriera; y por otra parte, si bica actualmente no tendria diticultad en compartir la linea de Unitá con respecto a Viet-Nam, durante veinte años en car jo (hasta el XX congreso) el stalinismo me habria impedido colaborar en forma absoluta. De manera : que yo publico mis n welas en el Corriere della Sera, Sin emb rgo, ustedes no encontraran en el Cor iere della Sera una sola palabra en favor del sistema existente hoy en Italia,

Scalzone: Quisiera recordarle a Moravia que cualquier obra lit raria, cualquier produero intelectual es ca hecho político. Ignorar todo eso significa hacer ya una elección política, entrar en el juego de los intereses creados, en otras palabras integrarse, Publicando nevelas en el Corriere della Sera, cualquier, que sea su contenido, usted, Moravia, está temando una posición política blen definida,

Mornvin: No más que cealquier proleturio en un regimen contralista, ¿Por que entonces les pintores deberian eximirse de esa neuración? Por qué los profesores? Por qué les arquitectes, o les directores de coe? ¿Por que los obreros que tra-Infan supongamos, in una fábrica de armer?

Scalzone: En efect), nosotros no proponemos como modele la figura del obrero esclavizado, sino la dei obrero que se libera de la esclavitud. El objero puede liberarso politicamente, volvién lose revolucionario

militante. El escritor, en esmblo, manipula material intelectual v a riemida identifica y limita au actividad en el acto de esecuble.

Petruccioil: El obrero dentro del sistema, es un esclavizado. El intelectual, en el momento en que acepta moverse dentro del aparato de la cultura dominante, acepta un papel une no es el del ecclavizado: re Vuelve un intermediario entre la clare que està en el poder y los consumidores. Cuando, bura vender su producto, èl usa como -medios de comunicación justamente nouellos carales que constituyen la fuerza y la continuidad de la cultura dominante. entonces está osumiendo una posición clara... prescindiendo-del-contenido-de-sus

Scalzone: En otros terminos, no se trata sólo del contenido o de las ideas, sino de la función que el libro pasa a asumir en la estructura econômica.

Moravia: En un sistema capitalista los editores son capitalistas y el escritor es un proletario al igual que cualquier otro que está en condiciones de ser aproyecha-, do (y a menudo lo es), y el libro es un producto a ser consumido. Si ustedes afirman que el arte no es expresión sino producto, entonces, no pueden pretender que el escritor sea un intelectual, o sea un creader con privilegies y responsabilida. des mayores que los demás. Deben en camble admittir que es um especie de artesano, o cen un proletario, Alay contradicción entre el papel que ustedes le exigenal intelectual, y el valor de producto que le atribuyen al arte. Por otra parte, habria que ver si el producto literario esta hecho para el consumo o para la representación. Hay um gum diferencia entre la industria custural y la expresión artistica. La primera produce un arte de élite, que en los paises capitalistas obedece a las leyes del keneficio y en los países comunistas, a las leyes del Estado: es lo mismo, por lo menos para los fines del arte.

En Occidente existe el limite del benefleso; en Ociente el de la propaganda, Se trata siempre de un arte de élite. O rea una literatura que tiene que ser consumidu, no importa donde, en el tren o en los bancos de las escuelas. Nunca revolución alguna quiro eso. Las revoluciones euleren la libertad de la expresión artistion. Es decle, cons'derando que para urtodes los contenidos (o sea la critica del poder) no ecentan, guleren la libertad del lenguale.

El escritor que no quiero ser intermadierlo entre las clases Cominantes y el

público puede encontrarse operando en tres situaciones históricas diferentes. Si la altunción lo permite, o sea los tiempos son comodos, puede hacer arte de cualquier tipo; al los tiempos apremian debera abandonar la representación y la poesía para el ensayo, el articulo; finalmente, il los tiempos no de en otra adernativa, dejara de ser exeritor, hembre de cultura, y rera el ciudadano que defiende su libertad con un fuell. Altera yo les pregunto: Jen cuál de estra situaciones nos encontramos hoy? En mi opinión pademos trebajar tedavia con un margen bastanto amplio, en Italia por lo meros, como para hacer representación actistica aunque, como sabemos, es ambicua de por si. Cuando los tiempos apremian ciertamento la poccia ya no alcanza: se necesita la publicación periodistica. Cuando finalmente emplezan a entrar los nezis en la casa de uno (como me paró a mi) entonces es necesaria la lucha armoda.

Petruccioli: Me parece cue la diferen. ciación de Moravia entre el momento del artista, del periodista y del ciudadano, vuelve a presentar el error que ha existido en la cultura izoucrd'eta en los últimos veinte años, ¿Que significa individualizar tres niveles de integración para un intelectual que opera en el interior de un cierio régimen? Significa procurarle una protección ideológica.

Scatzone: Significa durle la posibilidad de considerarse inocente cumido vende las novema al Corrière en nombre de la busaueda estilistica y comprometido cuando. tirma un cartel por la paz en nombre de sus recuerdos de la Recistencia, Significa darle la posibilidad de jugar en dos. mens.

¿Dönde puedo escribir --dice Moravia-, qué capai puedo utilizar, que mo deje ser plenamente libre? Si vo escribiera en Unitá no podria criticar por ejemn'o una priicula rovictica como Natacha. Por lo tanto, escribo en el Corriere della Bris.

Scalzone: Esa forma de inzonar refleja la persopulided del intelectual de izquierda de la década del 50. Reficia la psicología de cierta generación de intelectuales de izaulerda para los cuales el compromiso politico ha sido exclusivamente actividad de resistencia, que es algo muy diferente de una orgànica actividad revolucionaria. 1No le percee, Moravia, nue usted se està quedando estérilmente atado a ese mun-

. Horavia: Creo que no sey extraño a lo que está pasando airededor de mi. Antes 23 0000

de la guerra fenianca el fascismo. Después de la guerra, la lucha de clases. Hoy tenemos la civilización induccial o de aos consumos. Hoy, a pesar de que siguen existiendo las clases y las achas de clase, me interesan principalmenteslos males de la civilización industrial.

Veltrouir Yo qui iera habbar de nuestra altración de universitarlos, de nuestra poplémica. Nosotros nos damos crenta de qui la universidad, en la sociedad occidental, sólo sirve para proveer les técnicos que contribuyen al forfalcemento de la estructura cepitalista. No es instrumento de libertad, no sirve para sustituir la recepción policial con el fibre juego intelectual. Por eso cribermes tanto a un determinado tipo de hondre de cultura. Ciertos intelectuales para nosotros son alimbiemente agentes, finjon representar a la izquierda, pero en realidad no hacen otra cosa que servir il sistema.

Moravia: La reloción entre arte y politica no es tan simple como urtedes creen. Cuando escribia Glimi/Herenti, por ejemplo, yo cra prácticomente moditico. Sin embargo toda el mundo vio ahi una denuncia política.

Sinderial: Mire schor Moracia, a mi no me interesa cómo usted organiza sus relaciones con la sociedad. Sólo me preocupo de que usted no trate de justificarlas ous no trate de salvar su alma, como han estado haclendo los intelectiriles de Izquierda en les últimos veinte años. Han conciliade lo que no es conciliable. Han repetido a cada instente "Sev un comunista, coy na marvirta y por la tanta no estay de neuerdo con esta sociedad", Pera ensoquida agrogationi "Pero ésta es la sociedad en que vivo y la actividad que vo puedo desarrollar en ella es el arte". En Ofras palabras han reservade para si mismos una intervención que no cambia nada. Es una menera de lotegrarse, sumque sea una manera un poco hipócrita.

Meravia: Vo no desce salvar mi alma aqui en Italia, ni en Rusia, n en Estados Unidos ni en ninguna otra parte,

Veltroni: Usted dijo que la autogostión de las fábricas por parte de los obreros y el aprovechamiento de los obreros, aun bajo un dueño lluminado son la misma cosa. Como comunista, cuando escuchamos cosas como ésa nos rebelamos: Es una posición social demócrata.

Moravia: Ya dije solamente que el eslabón do la cadena de mortaje es factor do allenación tanto en una fábrica en nutocestión como en um fábrica enpitalista. En atros técminos, la cuestión de fondo siguo sin resolve se: el hombre integrado en una cadena le montaje, ¿cómo hara para ser hombre? ¿Como hará para comunicarse?

Fuksas: Este es et gereto y la finalidad de la revolución cultural; permittelo comunicarse,

Moravia: Si usted hu dera leido mi libro sobre China, habria en ontrado aqui que, para mi, um de las grandes esperanzas de la revolución cultural consiste justamente, en hacer pasar al hombre desde la condición campesin: a la tecnológica sin que tenga que pasar por la etapa burguesa de los consumos

Petruccioli: El intelectual de izquierda està atado a un tipo de actividad desarrolladi: en el pasado, que hoy él llama rovolucionaria pero que objetivamente no lo cs.

Moravia: ¿Qué actividad?

Petruccioli: A la neti/idad desarrollada durante la Reastencia, que actualmento se usa para justificar u u serie de operaciones equivocadas.

Cuando usted dice que hoy el problema ya no consiste en la lu ha de clases sino en la lucha contra la civilización indus. trial y la étien de los corsamos, asume una netitud de esclavo. Su posición es análoga a la de aquellos que elcen que es suficiente el hecho de est r inscritos en alguna organización poli lea para entificar sus productos. Ere es un razonamiento falso. En otras palabres, serian más sinceros si re limitaran a decir: "Yo necesito ganar plata, Trato le cumplir con mi trabajo libremente, pere cuando no lo consigo tengo el atenuante del estado de necosidad". Este es el dis urso que hay que rebatir; vuestra mala la es demostrada por la venta misma de vuestros productos. Presentando vuestros productos de esa forma, como fruto de la lideologia de la clase obrera ustedes desacreditan a la claso obrera misma. Us edes se presentan como inocentes de cóm a andan las cosas en el mundo capitalista a pesar de compartir la responsabilid d do todas cans CORES.

Scalzone: Quisiera i cordarle la fraso de Carmichael, el lider del Poder Negro, "El intelectual no nos i iteresa por lo que hace, sino por lo que hue por nosotros". Esto es también nuesto criterio, Con élmedimos la posición política del artista, Moraviai Usiedes, en otras palabras, quisieran un aris completamente politizade. Pur ini parte, yo no escribo articulos politicos en el Corriere, como no los escribia en Unita. No tengo partido, odio a los partirlos. No me atiliaria a ninguno de cilos. Me transformaria en un instrumento y no podria serle útil a nadie, ni siquiera al partido al cual catuviera afiliado.

Fuksas: ¿Pero usted está seguro, en su condición actual, de no ser un instrumento?

Moravia: Permitame definir al artista. El artista es el hombre, el único hombre que tiene el deber de mantenerse paracido a un niño, o sea no reprimirse y condicionarse en favor de sociedad alguna. La función social del artista, en otras patabras, es la de ser en alguna medida un antisocial.

Veitroni: Y afirmando eso, ¿usted sigue creyéndose marxista?

Moravia: Desde luego soy marxista. Pero no existe sólo el marxismo. Creo que este es un excelente instrumento de conocimiento, pero no el unico.

Scalzone: El marxismo no es un instrumento de conocimiento, sino de transformación del mundo,

Moravia: Conocimiento, para un artista, quiere decir transformación del mundo. Yo no soy hombre de acción: si lo fuera todo sería mucho más simple, aceptaria al maxismo como instrumento de transformación, como doctrica para la acción.

Veitroni: El "Che" Guevara ha dicho: "Los intelectuales deberian suicidarse, come clase". Eso significa que el intelectual no debe usar su pluma como instrumento para hacer lo que le gusta y evitarse el enfrentamiento con la realidad, ¿Qué piensa usted de esa frise, que en parte es aceptada también por Mao?

Moravia: Digo que es la frase de un hombre de acción, revolucionario de profesión. Un hombre que coloca la acción política por encima de todo lo demás. Pienso también que la pluma es un instrumento para lacer lo que nos gusta y en consecuencia enfrentarios a la rentidad.

Veltreni: ¿Su juicio sobre las obras do Mao y Guevara?

Moravia: Opino que Mao es un excelente escritor. Permitame citar mi libro sobre China, Página 45: "Ha sido al mismo tiempo el Lenin, el Trotski y el Stalin (pero también el Malakovski) de China". En cuanto a Guevara, lo conosco poco como escritor. Como hombre de acción su figura (lo afirmé en una entrevista a Parse Sera) es hecoica.

Scatzone: Usted, Moravia, ;cree que sus reportajes desde China o desde Corea; o sobre Pedgorny, guedan contribuir a la lucha que los países socialistas o del tercer mundo están llevando en contra del imperialismo?

Moravia: Nunca escribi nada acerca de Podgorny, El articulo desde Corea (Ver-ANALISIS, No. 334) era una descripción veridica de la capantesa situación de Corea del Sur. Léanlo, o vuélvanlo a leer, y verán, Junto con otros excritores europeos he firmado en una página del New York Times, un llamado contra la guerra de Vietnam. Llamé hace poco tiempo a la Academia de Artes y Letras americana, de la cual formo parte como miembro honorario, con el fin de que se decidan a tomar posición en contra de la guerra. Naturalmente firmé munificatos contra la guerra, no se bace otra com desde bace veinte años, ¿Pero para qué sirve? Se debiera hacer mas. Deberiase impedirle a Estados Unidos hacer la guerra. Pero yo, como escritor, ¿qué puedo hacer?

Veltroni: Deberia hacer dos cosas, Primero: en el momento en que usted eseribe reportajes o artículos por ejemplo, no deberia novar al imperiatismo. Segundo: no deberia preocuparse sólo de lo que escribe, sino también de doude lo escribe, y quien lo terra.

Realmer. Otra pregunta a Moravia. La relación entre hombre y endena de producción es de todas formas una relación, alienada. La contradicción que interesa en el plano social es la relación entre aprovechador y aprovechado. ¿Usted de qui lado está? Si está con el segundo, ¿pienas combatir el primero? ¿Con cuálea medios? ¡Pienas que pueden eer los reopios de su profesión de escritor? ¿O que se pueda y deba combatir con otros medios?

Moravia: Representar, en arte, es combatir, porque la representación es acusación y juicio. Fuera de ello, queda la acción política o armada.

Fuhrani La "generación intermedia" a la cual Moravia pertenece, ha formado una especie de monopolio cultural y económico de toda la protiución. Esta en la razón por la cual reingamos de los hombres de cultura do aquella generación.

31

Moravia: Vo no participo de pincinmonopolla cultural ni pvicho menos ceonômico. De protestado siempre, en mis-

libros, Protest a ustedes también, Prue. ben a escribir una novela en contra del monopolio,

Staderini: Una última pregunta: ¿Usted dijo que firma llamados por la paz en Victuam?

Moravia: Es electo,

Staderink Firma también en el Corriere della Sera, que es el degano de la opresión imperialista en Italia. ¿No es una contradiction?

Moraviat Si es cierto que el Corriere della Sera es el organi de la opresión imperialista en Italia, 🤕 una contradisción. De todas formas no escribo articulos ideológicos, y si los escripiera, no los publicaria en el Corriere d'Ila Sera. Finalmente, a pesar de que yo no sea stalilinista, permitame citar a Stalin: "Dicen que nos contradecimos. Pues si, nos contradecimos". Solo los git-prof no se contradicen.

(Tomado de la revista "Análisis", Argentina, marzo de 1938)

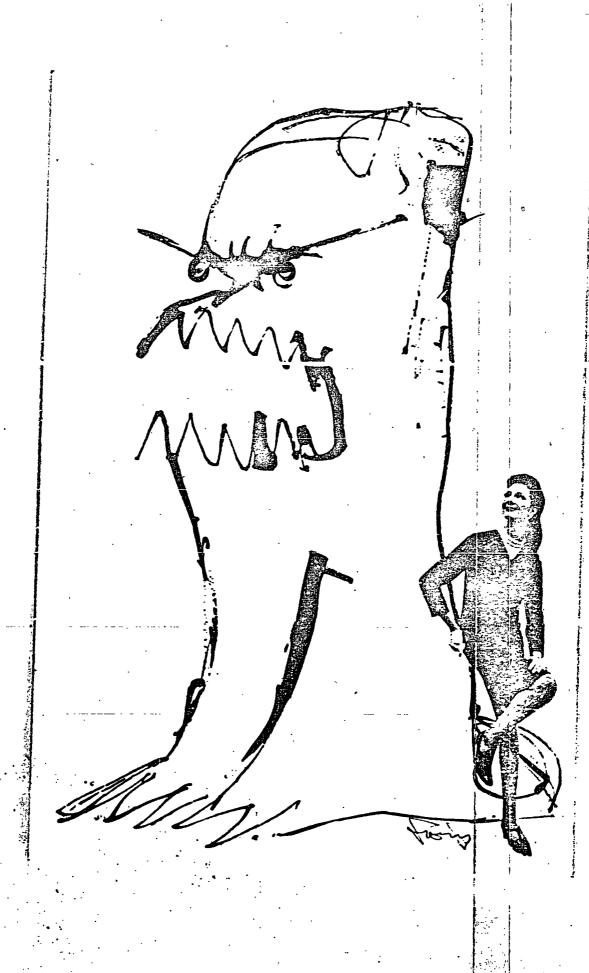


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1. Forwarded herewith as attachment #1 are three reports on the most recent developments of the LIRING-3 operation, one dated 17 November and the dated 22 November, prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON. The gist of the 22 November report relating the conversation which LIRING-3 had on that date with LIRING-9 was cabled in reference B. Some additional comments by LIRING-9 passed on orally by ROWTON and not included in his report were included in reference B. 2. Forwarded as attachment #2 are Xerox copies for both addressees of two letters received by LIRING-3 from FAR contacting Guatemala. The third letter was prepared as an answer by LIRING-3.				
Attachments: 1. Reports (3), 2. Letters (3), 3. Identity She	h/w	MICROFILMED DEC 9 1968		
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HNNA-35965

17 November, 1948

Subject:

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that with ITHING Office.

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- 1. During the period 4-15 Tovomber, 1968, Rowton met with IIRIMG/3 on four occasions to debrief him on his activities. IIRIMG/3 agreed with Rowton that there were several phases to his menewed operational activity that needed careful planning and oc-ordination. We communited on these as follows:
 - (a) Painterance of To that with PIR: TIPLY()3 sent a letter to Rafgel informed how to contact him. In response to this letter, TIRING()3 received a note from the mother of the Miguel and Juan Lean Berrios on 14/11/68 enquiring about his health. Since the letter was adversed so itsimply's new sources to rest it was proff that his reply to Argueta's latter had been received. He stated that he hoped "Pavel" or some one also representing PAR would soon appear.
 - (b) RE-establishment of Convact with LIKING AND PERUME: LIKING/3 agreed with howton that his ultimate objective would be a trip to PERUMEN to act as lisison between the authorities there and FAR. Row-von stressed the need to keep the local liking establishment informed and in support of his activities, to evoid hurting their feelings by going over their head (as happened before the last trip). ITRING/3 commented that he would have to maneuver matters so that he was extended an invitation. He would try this through LIXING/10, but if it did not succeed he would try a discreet approach through Orlando Suarez who, he felt, could arrange a cultural invitation without difficulty.

ETRING/3 subsequently reported to Rowton that he met with TIPING/10 on the corning of 15/11/68 in the patio area of the LIRITG establishment and that the latter had introduced him to his replacement, who invited ITRING/3 to meet with him any corning about 1100 except Mondays and Pridays. TIPING/9 also asked ITRING/3 to meet with him privately at his convenience so that he could debrief him on his experiences. ITRING/3 commented that ITRING/2 was very cordial but did not ask him any specific questions or show interest in debriefing him. ITRING/3 promised Rowton that he would attempt to gain access to ITRING/10's office for the debriefing.

(c) <u>Cover Problems</u>: IIRTEG/3 told Rowton that he would make every effort to obtain some kind of cover employment so that he could justify any funds given to him by Rowton. He stated that he was attempting to

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ormance for an emposition to firely ris annihote and at the agre time percuado e loading member of his profession to sermit him to twork in his establishment (for a mominal selent). ITHING/3 then suggested a hetter possibility - so experition in Montgesl. Canada, where he had contact with a renso the could proster matters for him. LIBING/3 confersed that he favored Canada for another dersonal resern. He emplained that LIRITO/his father was outleaing from what expected to be terminal cancer of the throat or earlicans and that I/4 was very anxious to see him before he died. I/# had sinted reverse times that she planned to request a visa for travel to Raw York since it was out of the question for her father to travel to Merica City to visit her. LIRING/3 told Rowton that in any case he felt it unwise to dermit L/4 to visit New York where she would injevitably fall in with all comtact refugees who would report on her attitudes. We preferred to travel with her to Montreal under cover of the exposition and then esk her father to join them there - a trip within reason for a person in his condition. L/3 added that he felt he and L/4 could travel by best at a modest fare and this would permit him to corry as many of his products as possible for the exposition.

Rowton agreed that this might be a solution, but recommended that I/3 look into the possibility of returning to Mexico via IBRUMEN (on the bos) since this would kill two birds with one stone. Rowton suggested that I/3 determine whether I/4's father was actually in a condition to travel even the relatively short distance. If not it might be possible for I/4 to travel to New York via Montreal by train at less expense than by air.

Wallace B. Rowton

ATT 1 HAMA- 35905 22/11/68

- 1. LIRING/3 received letter asknowledging from "Marta" postmerked
 9 November, Guatemala, C.A. acknowledging receipt L/3's letter and
 expressing relief from anxiety. Gives greetings from "los canchitos"
 Miguel, Elsa, "La Negra", "La Chiquitia", Felisa, Maria Elena, "La gordita".
 Envelope written by other hand is addressed to L/7 at his new residence
 and bears return address: M.Bol., 28c "B" 8-25 Zona 8. LIRING/3 told
 Bowton this letter from mother Juán and Miguel Essexia León Barrics,
 sent apparently to test commo channel. L/3 replied to letter 22/11/68
 ateting he reporte soon make trip "outside country" and asking Marka
 Marta to tell "los canchitos" (her sons Miguel and Juán) to send him
 the assignment ("encargo") soonest since he in position to help them
 in some way. L/3 enclosed clipping from "Siempre" of letter to editor
 describing his experiences in Guatemala.
- 2. L/3 also turned over to Rewton letter from "Espinoza" postmarked 7 November, Guatemala, C.A., sending warmest greetings, but containing phrase, "the León Barrios send you greetings", which L/3 interprets to be signal from Juán and Miguel that contact with FAR imminent. Envelope addressed to L/3 at his new address bears return address: Oscar Moises Raldán E., Granja Penal Pavón, Fraijanes, Guatemala.
- 3. LIRING/3 also reported that he had private talk with LIRING/9 on late morning 21 November in which L/9 stated he most interested in any observations L/3 might wish make concerning attitude and opinions his FAR contact with respect to PBRUMEN support. He asked L/3 to put his thoughts in writing and submit them to him at 1730 on 26 November. At L/3 request he promised invite LIRING/10 and other interested LIRING officials to this meeting. LIRING/9 expressed opinion that LIRING/3 should subsequently travel to PBRUMEN for "more detailed" discussions and offered arrange cultural cover invitation. He added that it would not be necessary for L/3 make formal application for visa.
- 4. LIRING/3 will submit to Rowton draft of his report on afternoon 25/11/68 so that Rowton may amplify as desired. L/3 told Rowton he plans take line that FBRUMENs do not understand local problems and that their aid in past has been dissapated in factionalism. L/3 asked Rowton for as many details as Rowton can gather to strengthen his report (such as

local FAR attidute toward César Montes and CPG leaders through whom PBRUMEN has worked in past. Also in French girl who executed recently about whom L/9 asked L/3 a number of questions, indicating FBRUMEN interest in exact role she played via-é-vis FAR.

MBRowton

in seif

22 November, 1968

Subject: LIHING/3 Report of Meeting with LIRING/9.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at the safehouse (Identity B) at 1015 on 22 November, 1968, that he had met with LIRING/9 at the latter's private office late the previous morning for a very serious discussion. L/3 explained that he had visited the LIRING effices with LIRING/4 to pass out invitations to the exposition scheduled to begin on 23/11/68, and that L/9 approached him immediately and asked him to come into his office for a chat, "if he could spare the time." Early in the conversation, Rowton's reconstruction of which follows, LIRING/3 got the impression that L/9 had been delegated by LIRING/10 to talk privately with him on the matters he broached:

- 9/ "I'm glad, chico, that you have a few minutes, since I wanted to talk over a few things very seriously and in private."
- 3. "I'm at your disposition. What do you have in mind?"
- 9/. "Well, what are your plans?"
- 3/. "what plans do you mean? After all I have a lot of plans for different things, as you can imagine."
- 9/."I mean your plans for the immediate future."
- 3/. "Well, I pllan giving this exposition (to which you are invited, of course) in the hope of raising enough money to take a trip to Montreal where I expect to have another exposition already being arranged by CFIC. This will enable LIRING/4 to come up there to see her father who is very ill, as you probably know. Her father will gladly help us financially to cover some of the cost of the trip."
- 9/."Yes, but I mean what about your plans for continued political activity?"
- 3/" Well, that's different. As you know I have bad a long standing interest in Central America politically, and, despite the fact that it has cost me a great deal personally, I hope to continue helping my friends within my capabilities. Fortuntately, there in really nothing that how of against me here in Mexico, since I have not become involved with organizations and parties."
- 9/."I see. But has your experience in Guatemala affected your attitude towards us?"
- 3/. "Frankly it has. I have a much better idea of the struggle from first-hand experience, and much more sympathy for the difficulties

that the comrades there had had to undergo."

- 9/."But could you be more specific?"
- 3/. "Well, it's a long story. I had hoped to discuss it in some detail with several of you together, particularly LIRING/10 and his replacement."
- 9/. "Yes, that will be arranged. But first I would appreciate your going over everything with me."
- 3/. "Well first of all, I would like to have present Iden A with his wife since I want once and for all to clear up any questions about the circumstances of our mutual experience there."
- 9/. "Donk't be childish. We know all about Iden A, just exactly what kind of person he is as well as his wife. Such a confrontation is a waste of time, as fer as we're concerned."
- 3/."But don't forget the fact that the parents of the wife of Iden are a very close friends of the LIRING Chief and it's quite natural that they'll present their powint of view when they see him."
- 9/. "Don't worry about that. It's a purely social relationship, and, in any case, our Chief really hasn't got very such to do with these things, and his opinion won't matter."
- 3/. "I hope so. I'd feel better in any case to talk about the details in Iden's presence, so that he will agree, as he must on his responsibility. You realize, of course, that he carried with him such compromising material that it was a miracle that we were not assassinated on the spot."
- 9/."Yes, but that is unimportant now. what is important is the fact that you have learned a great deal about the mentality of our friends down there, and that this could prove very useful to us in our future dealings."
- 3/. "Yes, for instance, they told me among other things that César Nontes had spent too much time with your people, on trips to your country and to Mexico, and had completely lost touch with the revolution. That's the reason he was "destituido".
- 9/. "So, you know that!"
- 3/."Yes, and many more details of why they are unhappy the lack of adequate financial support, the inability of EPRIMEN to embarrass FEFRIME In their increasing trade success."
- 9/." Very interesting! I have a suggestion. Suppose you prepare a written report (informe) and bring it in at 1730 sharp on 26 Kovember. I'll have some of my colleagues present so that we

- can all discuss your opinions and suggestions. I suggest 1730 because it will be quieter then and we can go to a better place to talk privately."
- 3/. "Fine, but I would like to be able to amplify my report in person in the FBRUMEN capital. Perhaps I could stop off there on the way back from Montreal."
- 9/."But there are no passenger ships making that run. Only cargo ships. I have a better suggestion. We could arrange an invitation for a cultural exposition that would appear innocuous."
- 3/."Fine. I agree that would be best. Do I have to make any formal application?"
- 9/. "To. It won't be necessary. I'll handle everywaing, but west about LIEING/4?"
- 3/. "That's a rather delicate matter. She has not quite gotten over my experience, and might object to my re-involvment in political matters. I therefore would request you not to mention this aspect to her. She could go off to her home town and visit her family and think that the whole trip is cultural."
- 9/. "Yes, I agree that would be best under the circumstances."

Wallace B Rowton

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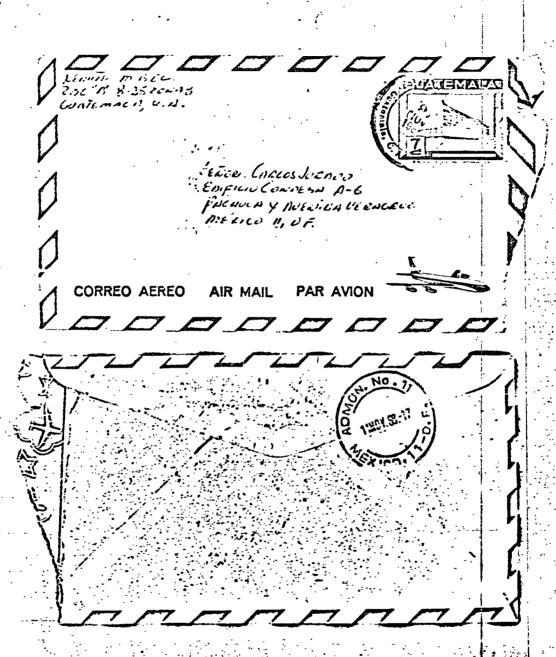
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Siempre! Pass. Si- 60 -

AVENTURA DE JURADO EN GUATEMALA



St. José Pægés Llergo Director de SIEMPRE!

Hace unos días voiví a la ciudad de México, después de haber permanecido encarcelado durante azu 7 meses en Guatemala, sujeto a un juicio —del cual sali absuelto— acusado por las automades de aquel país de "atentar contra las instituciones aemocráticas".

No pretendo hazer una crónica de los circunstancias de mi detención, del proceso judicial, etc., pues estos detalles en parte fueron dadas a conocer en su oportunidad por SiEM-PREI, pero si guimera relatarle en una forma breve algunas de las cosas que observé durante esos meses en el campo de concentración de Pavón, mai llamado "Granjo Penal Patvón", donde estuve confinado.

Dicha "grenja" está situada a más o menos 20 kms. de la ciudad de Guatemala en el Departamento de Francises y consiste en un hoyanco artificial redecido de cercar electrificadas y torretes de rigilanda como esta las formeses de concentración nacis. Se supone que en las países civilizados

los sistemos carcelarios disponen de los medios suficientes para proporcionar a los reciusos un mínimo de comodidades o elementos que le permitan su desarrollo o renabilitación; pero en este sitio sólo imperan el terror y el hambre, así como las condiciones más infrahumanas y espeluznantes, ya que la insalubridad y la falta de atención en todos los aspectos es lo que allí impera.

La población aproximada de "la Granja" excila entre 1,333 y 1,503 reas, de los cuales los "presos políticos" no llegan a 20, ya que los detenidos por delitos de esta naturaleza son generalmente asesinados después de su detención y estar sujetos a tarturas.

Por lo tânto, la casi totalidad de los presos son "delincuentes comunes", pero podría decirse que en un 40% son inocentes del delito de que se les acusa: pues en Guatemala, para ser encarcelado no es necesario tener pruebas en contra. Una simple acusación policiada o de particulares basta para quedar suleto a un proceso en el cual es común sa fir absuelto después de uno o das años de encarcelamiento.

La administración interna del penal está encomendada a los reclusos, para lo cua so escoge a los delincuentes más depravados y que tienen condenas largas asesinos, aro galictos, etc.

Para mantener la disciplina se ha formado un cuerpo de represión denominado "servicio especial" o "garroteros", como vulcormente se les ilaman. Este grupo, cuya impunidad es ilimitada, mantiene a los reclusos en terror constante, ya que basta la latta más infinima para que golpeen con saña brutal a infractor, llegándole a causar nassa la muerte.

El penal no proporciona a los reclusos ningún medio de trobajo, pero si propicia la icrmación de matias internas que explotan a quienes tienen mayores necesidades, hacién dolos trabajar en lábricas elementales de algunas artesanias: canactos, juguetes rudimentarios o pelotas de futbol; productos que envian a la calle para su venta y de los cuales esas matias obtienen grandes ganancias que comparten con la dirección del Penal.

Uno de los negocios más productivos, y del cual participan las autoridades en combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de seconales sódicos y manguana a los reclusos; drogas con las que una gran mayoría trata de borrar su desesperación y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran muchas veces en el acestnato.

Como mencioné antes, la "Granja Penal ce Pavón" consiste en un horarco artificial cuyo espacio habitable se reduce a un rectangulo de 170 por 70 metros, agracimadamente, el cual incluye 5 cuadras y una explanada al aire libre, iránicamente licunada "or po deportivo". Cada una de las cuadras alberga un promedio de 250 personas que viven en la más absoluta promiscuidad. Para agravar esta situación funciona diamentente —durante 12 horas— un altopariante, aucuble en todos los rincones, y que se utiliza para acrecentar el amedrentamiento y el terror. Por ese altoparlante se llama a las recluidos, que son solicitados para presentarse a la autoridad del penal, pero siempre batiendo hincapié en la amenaza y en la intimudación.

Los reincidentes o reos peligrosos, están confinados en el Triángulo que es un espacio pequeño, prolegido por alambradas, del cual no pueden salir ni siquiera a la explanada. En las cuadras, sólo una parte de les reclusos dispone de literas; sa mayoric duerme en el suelo cubriéndose con trapos vieres o cartones. La alimentación que el penal proporciona consiste en dos pequeños panes y calé por la mañana acia tertillas y un poco de coldo, o de Injoies al mediadía, y otro poco do Injoies par la tarde. Una parte de los reos se alimenta con los escasos medios que sus familiares los livium los cias de vista o en pequeñas fondas que algunos han instanción para obtener ingresos. Tampoco existentención médica adecuada: solo una liviraca con algunos unsomentos risimentarios sentes, pora cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam que tarto muenos dos appliares, o un liviracio pora cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam que tarto muenos dos appliares, o un ligidad por cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam que tarto muenos dos appliares, o un ligidad por cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam que tarto muenos dos appliares, o un ligidad por cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam que tarto muenos dos applicars, o un ligidad por cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam con trata muenos dos applicars, o un ligidad por cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionam con trata muentos dos applicars.

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Uno de los negocios más proc vos, y del cual participan las autoridad in combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de seconales sócilos y mange una a los reclusos; diogas con las que una gran mayoria trata de borrar su desexpercenta y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran mumas veces en el assesinato.

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Un hecho que reviste gravedad extrema para los reclusos acusados de delitos políticos, es el de cómo llegar seguros de vuelta a sus hogares el dia que reciben su hizertad de ese infierno. En todas las "carceles" del país el total de presos políticos no llega a 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el pario, com "carceles" (Cigare en la país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el pario, com "carceles" (Cigare en la país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el pario, com "carceles" (Cigare en la país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el pario (Cigare en la país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el pario (Cigare en la país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el pario (Cigare en la país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el país en 100. Una gran mayoria de eucos ai unanimone el país el total del

Alterton blue

(Viene de la página 6) cuestrados" y desaparecidos en la carretera por cualquier grupo de los innumerables cuerpos políciacos represivos que existen en Guatemala, previo aviso, claro está de la direccida del Penal, que comunica con toda anticipación el día que un preso político obtiene su libertad.

En general, la "Grania Penal Pavón" es posiblemente una de las prisiones más terrorificas que existen en Latimoamérica y seria oportuno que la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU organizara una revista de inspectión, para desenmascarar así una de las tantas formas de violencia que imperan hoy dia en tan bello pero desafortunado país.

Le agradezco muy sinceramente las informaciones y defensa que la revisua SIEMPRE! ha hecho de mi caso.

Atestamente

Carlos Jurgeo

SECRET

Attachment #3 HMMA-35905

MICROFILMED

DOC. MICRO. SER.

Identity Sheet

Identity A: Carlos PERSABAL Marcue

Identity B: Suites Marne

CIT: Mexico

1: Pexico

re: connection with

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MICROFILMED

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Subject: Report of Debriefing of LIBING/3.

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1. Upon his return from TDY, Powton made discreen efforts to re-establish contact with LTRI-T/4 as directly as possible. He checked on the last known residence of L/4 on the nights of 24 and 25 October but found the trird floor apartment tetally blacked out. He therefore assumed that LTRI-T/4 had abandoned the approvent either lecause of fear of the Gobernación sights that had attempted to exont 500 peacs from her (las indicated in LTRAT take for 11 Sept...) or on a result of her inability to pay the Cotober rent, or both. Boyton theoled his telephone answering service but found no message from LTRI-TG/4 as he had hoped. Bowton concluded that L/4 must have assumed that Powton had left the country on an extended trin, since prior to his departure (15 September) Rowton had left a note on the afternoon of 11 September under the door of the apartment advising L/4 that he had to leave the country and hoped to see her the following morning at 1000 fit has Toons-Sultorio". LIRING/4 did not show at 1000 the following morning or the next, probably because of the visit of the police to the apartment.

- 2. Rowton then telephoned Identity C and, on the preted of interest in the watercolors of LIRING/3, asked srtz Carillo who answered for the address of LIRING/4. Srta Carillo replied that unfortunately she did not have the present address but did have the watercolors and sould show them to Rowton. The added that LIRING/3 was in Gustemala and that UHRING/4 passed by Iden C from time to time to check on the sale of the pictures. When she offered to give I/4 any message Powton might have, the latter asked her to tell I/4 to telephone Rowton at his telephone answering service(alias)
- 3. Rowton then felt his only other gourte of L/A's whereshouts that would not attract undue attention (particularly on the part of the LIPITS office) would be a check with INTIUG/3's first wife, since he recalled that she had taken care of IDPTEG/3 and /A's child almost every week-end, even after I/3's arrest. Rowton therefore obtained the telephone used by LIRING/3 to contact his first wife (from the Station file) and decided to call on the corning of 29 October. In the meantime, however, Rowton learned from the Station that LIRING/3 had been released and returned to Maxico City on 48 intober.
- 4. When Rowton called the number of the frist wife (apparently a stall store in the Casas Grandes development), he asked for Carlito, the eldent zon of L/3, (whom Rowton had already met) mather than for the first wife of L/3 whom Rowton did not have. A young girl replied saying that her brother Carlito was not at home at the moment. Rowton then explained that he was actually

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trying to locate [IxIIS/3. The child then exclaimed that Ix/3, her father, was at that your rement upstains in her home. Nower, eaked her to ask her father to come to the phase as soon as possible. After a few minutes delay. Ix/3 care to the hydene and talked limitally to Powton.

- 5. IPPEG/3 appeared from his tone of voice, to be nother depressed and showed no sign of enthusiasm in re-establishing contact with Royton. Rowton explained that he had been out of the country and had unfortunately not been able to see I/4 before he left. Rowton added that he had returned on 19 Oct, the day after IPRING/3 himself had returned (Rowton said this for effect, since he knew it would impress I/3 to indicate that he was fully evere of the exact date of I/3's return). When he then asked to see I/3, the latter replied for course, when moved better that he was fully evere ask the Miss restaurant on Reforms. We then telephoned Identity D and reserved a room for that afternoon so that he would be able to give I/3 the safebouse at their first meeting.
- 6. LIRING/3 appeared on time and looked reasonably well, despite his long confinement. He explained that he had been able to recuperate during the past ten days and felt puch better for the normal dist he had been able to resume. The only physical effect he still felt, besides the weakness from loss of weight and dysentery, was a recurring pain in the side, which L/3 feared resulted from a fractured rib that had healed without medical treatment. He explained that he had been beaten severely on several occasions during the initial interrogation both by the military and the police and "of course" did not have the benefit of medical treatment afterwards.
- 7. Rowton then alleged to LIRING/3 that he had done "everything possible" to arrange his release, principally through a notional GNA colonel whose brother was a business friend of Rowton. He explained that when he had learned that I/3 had left Mexico City for the trip as planned, he telephoned the colonel and explained that a Mexican friend, IIRING/3, was planning to visit his country and might conceivably need help at some point. Rowton continued that this gesture proved to be literally a life-saver for I/3 since a few days later, the colonel called Rowton back and reported the arrest of I/3 in the company of "very dangerous persons." At the colonel's request, Rowton met with him several days later at the border and they both planned the best course of action to save I/3. Rowton alleged that the colonel on his own initiative erranged to have I/3 tradeferred from the frontier to Guatemala City so that he could be released from army sustody to the citilian authorisis. I/2 apparently accounted this stony at once, remarking that it did appear strange to his that he was flown with his companions in a twin

engine place and that the "inister of Trantion was present at the simport when they disembarked. I/3 told Rowton that he folt dentein that had na remained in the control of the army he would have been executed without wrish or publicity of any bind.

- 8. LIRING/3 added that when he arrived he found ITRING/4 in a state of virtual exhaustion from nervous tension and worry. He stated that L/4 had become understandably bitter at the attitude of the police and felt standared by everyone, including Rowton, during the last weeks of I/2's imprisonment.

 L/3 added that, as Rowton suspected, L/4 was not anxious for him to resume any kind of political activity and would try her heat to dissuade him from resuming collaboration with Powton, if it meant reinvolvement with PiR and the ITRING office. In raphy to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that L/4 had managed financially since Rowton's departure by solling a few of his maintines, one of which was purchased by a "northomorican woman" at an excellent price and then donated to Bellas intes (after the purchaser learned of L/3's plight)
- 9. Rowton met with I/3 spain that same evening at 1960 in the safercom of Identity D and was able to dehrief him at some length under more recure conditions. [JJF786/3] showed no reluctance to provide Powton with all the details of his trip to Guaterale and to answer Fowton's questions frankly. At Rowton's request I/3 gave the following chronological account of his experiences over the past six months:

"Idens A and B and myself crossed the border on Paster Saturiay(April 13) without incident, Iden A using the false Mexican documents I had provided and Iden B and myself traveling with our legal passports that had been properly vissed in Mexico City before we left. I had originally planned to get Iden 4 across the border illegally north of Mesillar and meet him subsequently in Guatemala City, but I was dissuaded from this plan partly by Iden A's fear of traveling alone without properly visaed papers and partly by the fact that it was an important holiday and there was more than usual novement papers the border.

"Incidentally Iden B foined us at the invitation of Iden A when Iden B expressed an interest in concluding an interview with Nestor Valle of FAR (the first interview had occurred some months previously during Iden B's last trip to Guatemala). Iden B did this on his own initiative to impress his uncle with his newspaper initiative and ability, and Iden A felt that bringing Iden B with him would enhance his own prestige in the eyes of the FAR handowenter officials he hoped to meet. I myself reclired that Iden B's presence was not also gether unfavorable for me, since if anything happened I would hot have to bear the responsibility alone but gould share it with Iden B.

"In any event we persed through the "evicen inigration and castors without difficulty, slate in Iden A was told that he would have to stop off is the Guateralan consul's office (connect enough on the Guateralan side) to get a tourist visa, which was described as a "mere formality". At this point Iden A began to show signs of hervousness and refused to enter the Consul's office alone. I therefore accompanied him to calm him down. We found that the Consul was a colonel in the GNA, and a very observant person, despite his rather polite treatment of Iden A. Ties A, indientally had dyed his hair at my suggestion to refuce the chances of his being spotted by an accusintance.
"But I forget to tention that the real reason for Iden A's nervousness was an unfortunate incident at the intigration office shortly before.

"But I forget to tention that the real reason for Iden A's rervousness was an unfortunate incident at the indigration office shortly before. One of the indigration officers mistock Iden 3 for a renal winted for some sort of fraud and insisted on examining him closely and even checking his height with a tape measure. Portunately Iden B proved to be several centimeters tabler than the person wanted by the police and we were allowed to pass on. This delay however did attract considerable attention and produced a state of nervous tension in both Iden A and, of course, B.

"Iden A was granted the tourist visa without delay and we proceeded to the Sustoms, about 200 yeards up the road. Iden A, who had only a briefcase, refused to enter the Sustoms abed, but waited for us in a nearby cafe to keep as calm as possible. Iden R and I had to open our valises in Gustoms for the routine check. It was then that I myself got a nervous shock. Wy own had had nothing but elothing in it, but Iden B was carrying a carera, a Czech recording rathine, Soviet-made hiking boots, and, worst of all, a Mexican require between the pages of which he had concealed (very bruvely) several FAR propaganda leaflets (which he told he later he was carrying to fingress" the FAR with the work being done on his uncle's press in Mexico City). Although the Customs officers asked no questions and allowed Iden B to proceed I am certain that they spotted the leaflets and noted the rather unusual equipment Iden B was carrying with bim.

"when we joined Iden A at the cafe, he asked anxiously, 'No hubo clave?' and when we assured him that there hadn't been an problem ('clave') he regained his composture. We then hadled a small, six-passenger autobus that was bound for Huehuetenanco with three passengers (Guatamalans) already aboard. Whout 3 kilometers outside the town (Mesilia) the driver told us we were approaching the military outpust of 'Al Cable' and that we would be obecked spain. He, to our Autorise, warmed us to

hide any curs we might have been organized "goden the geoty" since the military would courch the hus. Just then we say a cap mass us a mether biot cheed on probabiled the Copost in the driver's seet. Iden A's remviousness seited him arein and he aboved into om hand his Guareralan passyout and a few other of his least gapsers. I quickly but ther into an necket and bored that I would not be seemaked. Withen we meanhed the costrol point, we say the Contul! by thee wearing a side-orm, lessing against his own, weithing for the armival of the bud. As soon as we stormed, he should to a meanby soldier to have the Colonel Commendant come out. Then the soldier refused series that it was more proper for him. the Concut, to moto the office of the Commerdent, the Consul invisted in a rather otern voice. Finally the soldier disacheared and m turned in a few minutes with the commendant, a wound officer of executer harming letter of the minutes and constitution with the Consul, the Cormendent ordered up (Iden A.B and myself) out of the bus. The driver then returned our fore and wes allowed to proceed on to Huchmetenango, ofter we had removed our luggage, se them found ourselves surround by soldiers and escorted into the PEL Cable! compound. There we were assigned to different prefationable buts and questioned segarately. At an opportune moment, when the soldier guarding me (through the window of the but) went off to get me some water. I managed to squeeze the passport of Iden A and his other papers through a crack in the floor heards where I felt sure that ther would not be discovered.

"The Cormandant, who was fairly polite and even gave the coffee, asked me the purpose of my trip and how well I knew the other two. I replied that I was simply sightseeing and that I had known Iigh B in Maxico City since he was a well-known cotedratico at the University, but that I had run into his at San Cristôral. With repart to Iden A, I alleged that I did not know him and had simply run into him by chance at the Immigration Office and had joined him and Iden 8 on the bus to save money in traveling to Euchuetenande. The Commandant them asked me to open my valise and he proceeded to search the contents carefully. Fer was particularly attracted to a clay bell-which Idea & or Bihad placed there without my knowledge. (I later found out that they had stolen three bells from the hotel at Son Cristonal in r spoot and had put one on my valise). I told the Commandant that I did not know the bell was in my valise but recognized it as one sold at the tourist stand of the Rotel in San Cristobal. I subsequently realized that they thought that the bells were some some of reconsition signal and wanted to get to the bottom of the apparently perclexing matter.

"After about three or four hours an erry truck errived drived by sergeant who appeared to have been dringing heavily (it was Fely Saturday and a festive occasion in the village). He ordered us tied hand and foot and literally thrown into the back of the truck. He then took off at reckless speed without any thought of the pain he was causing us (our hands were tied behild our back and we were forced to remain lying on the floor of the truck). At one point he stopped and instructed the soldiers to shoot us if we made any attenut to escape. Later one of the soldiers brutelly ricked Iden A in the side when he moved suddenly, apparently to ease the strain on his arms. "We were limally taken from the truck at the villate of Buenos Aires, on the outskirts of Euchuctenango, and escorted into enother military comblichment where we were again, inversegaved, I stuck steadfastly to my original simply story, and, although I am sure that they did not believe me, there was no incrininating evidence in my luggage or on my person to serve as a bisis for their suspicions. After several hours, from a good vantage point just inside the tain door, where I had been deposited (still tied up) by the last interrogetor, I overheard an officer sending a radio ressage to the Ministry in Puatemela City reporting our arrest and asking for instructions. He must have been told that a helicoopter would be coming to gick us ug, becasue I heard him reply that a heliocopter would not be adequate and that a plane should be sent, since we were "dangerous types".

"The plane, a twin engine military sircraft, finally arrived and we were hustled into it and forced again to lie on the floor even while in flight. When we landed at the Gustereiz City sirport we were not removed from the plane for several hours. I recall hearing someone say, Leave then inside. The Minister hasn't arrive yet. Shortly thereafter, a Northamerican army officer came aboard the plane and care straight toward me. He rolled he over roughly with his boot and began interrogating me. He appeared under the impression that I was a FAP leader and at first did not believe him when I gave him my true identity. I remember him very well since he spoke with a distinct northamerican accent and had a bandage around one of his lags (apparently he had been woulded in a shirmish).

We were finelly removed from the minoralt and taken linectly to the 2nd Police Corps Headquarters in Guaternla City and assigned to sell block 400, which is reserved for political principers (incidentally I later learned to my smacement that they are no more that 40 political prisoners in Sustemals - the others all having hoen executed before trial.

of the Pavén prison
"In cellblock 4004 where I open several weeks awaiting armsignment, there are six cells with thick wooden hars, three or mean side, in thris of which lies 1, Iden B and typelf were confined. I discovered that in one of the other cells was Polando "Cahollite", an intertant PiR larder, and in another cell were two young FiR rephars, the hoother Mirvel and the Juán Jeán Parrios, who later hold to that they were tempters of the G-2 of PiR. In the remaining cell were three tarbers of the Miron Blanco", one of Mirve I later learned was named Inex Fusio Pedilla.

"is soon as we become acquainted, 'Cahollito' rade an investiration of the circumstances surrounding our arrest, as he said, on haralf of FAR. 'Cabollito' who had already been arraigned had more freedor than the others and was able to wandom in and out . 100 relability three () noted that the door of his cell was often priceked). He therefore was able to talk discreptly with each of us through the bors to inverregate! us to his satisfaction. After several days he reported that he found Iden Als conduct 'inexpusable' and Iden 3 completely bound in bis unrecessabily exposing his companions with the compromising rateriel he was carrying. He told me that he felt 7 had been the victim of very or fortunate circumstances and my only mistake was to have atterroted to cross the frontier with the other two. We added that he intended to sent his report to FAR wis his rother, who was able to visit his some or less regularly. Several weeks Inter I say 'Ocbollito' being pushed into an army truck and learned from the Leon brothers that he was taken out and executed before his trial was completed! The last tire I saw Iden A was about Arril 25, when he waved to de from his cell (I had already been taken out of cellblobk 400 and reved into the large compound).

"Fortunately the Mexican Consul, Berrano, recognized my family name and told me that he was a friend of my father. He did what he could to help me get messages out to my wife and to supply me with materials to write and do some painting. Also of great help and comfort to me was Mario Armando Amador, the First Becretary, whose life, I learned later, was threatened befause of the interest he took in me and Iden B. Armando confided to me on one occasion that he had to be very discreet in sending messages to helacions Exteriores in Mexico since the "Northemericans decipher and read everything we send." He therefore had to send everything concerning me by diplomatic pouch despite the delay involved.

"I managed to get a message out to the press in a very strange way. I

had gotten to knew one of the Mano Blanca'(the olderto: the trit that had been arrested for the hidnapting of the Archbishop), Inax Rufio Padilla, and felt he was sympathetic toward us. If therefore prepared a brief message on the inside of an entry package of digarettes 'To whom it may Concern' stating that we had been arrested and were being held unfusuly, and on the day that the trio here called out to appear in court, where I knew there would be newstated reportationent I slipped the note to Rufio with a gleathat he give it to a ret ruer as soon as he could. I be an learned that he did so and that my note appeared verbating in the local press.

"Several weeks later the mother and wife of Iden B visited us are eithe because of what he told ther or on their own initiative spread the next when that I had been necessable for the court and that I was

a Trotaxyite (the wife and nother of Iden 3 are both members of the CP Merico). This proved very disquieting to re but I was reasoured to some extent by the León brothers who told me that they would 'invention gate' and clear up the matter as soon as they could. About two months later, theytook re aside in the prison compound and show me a report they stated they received from "FiR sources in Merico". In this report I was described as an anarchist without party affiliations, of good character and conduct, trustworthy and responsible but difficult to control". Iden B, on the other hand was described as an opportunist, without sincers ideology, in reality a bourgeoism of superficial convictions."

"From that moment the león brothers took me into their confidence. They revealed that FAR had broken completely with the CP Spatemala becasue of complete dissatisfaction with the party's handling of support matters. They jointed out to me Francisco Corado in the compound as the CP representative and commented thant all financial help from the outside was being channeled through him despite the fact! that he distribute the sid to his friends who were not even party the bers and deglected everyone else. The brothers also told me that FAR had stripped Bésar Montes of all his authority and that he was in exile in Marico. They commented that Montes had spent almost all his time outside Guatempla and had not accomplished the missions be was sent on. They also stated that financial and material aid from Cuba had dwindled to alsmost nothing because of FAR refusal to accept luban terms. The explained that the Curans insisted on sending their experts to direct everything and channeled all their financial aid through the CP Rustemela. "The left brothers also suggested that if and when I returned to

Mexico, I should restrict contact with a "genuine FAR representative" one that I should do emerging possible to convince the Owers to take a nors realistic position wis-s-wis their revolution. I welcomed this suggestion, assuming that that I could and would make a trip to Prema as soon as feasible. Since I was not centain of my wife's whereshouts, I caked the Smothers to have their representative in Mexico, when they described simply as "Tarel", contact me through

Identity C . I suggested that 'Toyel' could contect the director, Identity E or har secretary stra Carillo, and introduce himself as a person representing a certain stra. Violeta who was interested in purchasina the watercolons I had already sent to my wife. 'Yayel' could then ask for my address or leave, a message telling me whom I shall believe with me as so after my release as possible.

"The triel of myself and Iden B was nothing more than a fortality, since the judge was well aware that the prosecution had no solid evidence (fortunately for us Iden i had already been eliminated and could not testify even under duress). Since at least three attempts had been made to execute us lefore the triel (on the well-known pretext of removing us from the prison and assessinating us while supposedly averyting to escape), I demand an escort after the acquittal to accompany us to the simport. We arrived in Mexico City on 18 October and I was not there by my wife."

10. After relating the above, LIRING/3 asked Rowton to keep the proposed contact with 'Pavel' in strictest confidence, particularly from his wife, since he felt she would be very upset to learn that he, L/3, was planning to resume political activity on behalf of FAR. In reply to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that as yet he had not had time to recontact anyone in the LIRING office but promised to do so as soon as the opportunity presented itself. He agreed with Rowton that LIRING/4 would be the logical person to arrange a discreet meeting with LIRING/40. L/3 told Rowton incidentally that L/4 had protested to LIRING/10 some weeks previously that Rodolfo Reyes was speading rumors to the effect that the HIRING office did not trust LIRING/4. L/10 replied indignantly that if there was anyone they did not trust it was Rodolfo Reyes, and that L/4 could bring him in and L/10 rould tell him such to his face.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET Attachment #2 нима-35904

MICROFILMED DEC 9 1968 DOC. MICRO, SER

Identity Sheet

Francisco' *LARA (AUT DE CIO!) Identity A:

Identity B: Carlos *PERSABAL Marcue

Identity C: Salon de la Plastica Mexicana

Identity D: Suites Marne

Identity E: /Sra/ Lourdes CHOUMACERO

Manuel MARCUE Pardinas, former editor of Politica magazine Identity F:

FREICONNECTION WITH Subject 201-79:301 9

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201-798351

Chief. WH Division Chief of Station, Guatemala City Chief of Station, Mexico City PREUMEN/LIRIST-3

Action Required: See paragraph 3.

- 1. Forwarded herewith is one copy each for Readquarters and the Guatemala City Station of the report covering the debriefing by Wallace B. ROSTON of LIRING-3 on his imprisonment in Guatemala. Identity A of ROWTOR's report is a Guatemalan rebel living in textco who, as autressees will remember, secidentally shot himself in the leg a few days nation to him June warm with Liking-3. This wound may have convinced the Guatemalans that he had recently been involved is terrorist activities and may, in fact, have cost him his life. Identity B of the same report is the nephew of Identity F. a Mexican Communist who was arrested on 19 September 1958 during a student demonstration in Mexico City; be is still in jail.
- 2. As this dispatch is being written, LIRING-3 has an appointment to talk at length about his experience in Amsternals with the LIMING Station thiof, LIMING-10. The general idea is for LIRING-3 to go to PREUMEN in the hope that he can be used to preservate PRRUNZY-sponsored subversion offerts in Latin America or become, at least for a time, a reporting source in PREUMEY.
- 3. ROFFCM and the undersigned are prepared to travel to Quatemala to discuss the LIRING-3 case and its Guatemalas/FAR implications whenever the Guatemaia City Station, after reviewing the available information, feels ready for such discussion. Please advise.

Attachments:

for Willard C. CURTIS

Report (1), h/w
 Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c

Distribution:

Orig & 2 - C/FHD (w/atts - 1 copy each)

2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each)

2**7 November 1**96**8** # TET 34 . 1 TET 15 201-798301

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1. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED
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DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR GUATEMALA CITY STATION OFFICER
PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3
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B. LEADERSHIP IS OBVIOUSLY IMMATURE AND INCAPABLE OF ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT.

C. ACCORDING ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA" FAR FUNDS MISUSED BY LEADERS IN "NON-REVOLUTIONARY WAYS."

D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONVETUED AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

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1. BECAUSE LIRING-3	COULD NOT LOGICALL	Y HAVE GAINE	D DETAILED OF	- · - ·
INSIGHT INTO INSURCENCY	MOVEMENT IN GUATE	MALA DURING	ENCARCERAT ION,	,
DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECES	SARY FOR GUATEMALA	CITY STATIO	N OFFICER	•
PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND D	ETAILED BRIEFING F	FOR PREPARATI	ON LIRING-3	
REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOW I	NG GENERAL GUIDEL	INES, SUBJECT	TO HQS	• 1
APPROVAL, WHICH OSTENSI	BILY TO BE IMPRES	SIONS OF LIRI	NG-3 BASED	<u>.</u>
ON CONVERSATIONS WITH F	AR LEADERS WHILE	IN JAIL.		
A. EMPHASIZE FRAGM	ENTATION, DISORGAN	IZATION AND	COMPETITION :	,
OF INSURGENT FORCES HAV	E SERIOUSLY DISRU	PTED INSURGEN	T MOVEMENT,	1
WHICH NOW STAGNANT.		:	·	
B. LEADERSHIP IS O	BY IOUSLY IMMATURE	AND INCAPABL	E OF	
ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE	MOVEMENT.	•	. + >	
C. ACCORDING ROLAN	DO "CEBCLLITA" FA	R FUNDS MISUS	SED BY	
FADERS IN THOM-REVOLUT	IONARY WAYS.			

D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONVEIVED

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AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

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CTIONS BY FAR MEMBERS WHO FAILED MAK	E ADEQUATE PE	Z-4 PPARATIO	กร	
CITORS SI PAR HEIDERS WITCH PAICES HAR	E MDEMONIE !!	C.	1	
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E. ESSENTIAL THAT NEW LEADERSHIP	CADRE BE FO	ND TO RE	PLACE	
RESENT COMMAND IF REVOLUTIONARY MOVE	MENT TO CHOOS	, en	:	
RESERT COMMEND IF REVOLUTIONARY MOVE	MENT TO SUCCE	ED.		
2. FYI: OBJECTIVE OF ABOVE IS TO P	AINT AS DISM	L A PICT	URE	
S POSSIBLE FOR CUBANS, AND TO SUGGES	T THAT LATTER	R IMPOSE	CONDITIONS	
MITAN WELL DE MINAGOEDTADIE TO DESCENT	THE CONCENT IN	ADEDOUTE	, prei	
HICH WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PRESENT	THEORGENI LI	LHUEKSH 1F	• FEEL	
HAT ANY ATTEMPT BY CUBANS TO REPLACE	CURRENT-LEAD	ERSHIP W	OULD	
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RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3 REF: MEXICO CITY 7982 [7 25321

22世紀日日40273

1. TUTIES LOW DISCUSSION LINIMARY NAME AT LIKE WEITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1738 HOURS 25 NOV CH HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCAPCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PERUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS WEST . HE ADDER LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PERUNEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND SIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOVS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAI LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 VANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER ZEATH.

2. LIRING-9 STATED CHIEF LIRING "DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THESE THINGS" (CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN GUATEMALA) AND "HIS OPINION DOES NOT HATTER." SAID WOULD ARRANGE FOR

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

MEETING AT 1730 ON 25 MJ/ WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGTH " IN SETTER PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSED HOPE HE MIGHT AMPLIFY HIS REPORT IN PERSON IN PRRUMEN CAPITAL. LIRING-9 SUGGESTED HE MIGHT BE INVITED FOR CULTURAL EXPOSITION TO MAKE TRIP APPEAR INNOCURUS AND OFFERED TO MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGE MENTS.

- 3. REQUEST GUAT CITY STATION OFFICER FAMILIAR WITH FARA
 PGT OP PROCEED MEXICO CITY MORNING 23 EGV TO DISCUSS ABOVE AND
 PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT TO LIRING. IN
 ADDITION TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE LIRING-3 COULD ATTRIBUTE INFO
 WHICH WOFIRM MIGHT WANT REACH PERUMENERS TO NOW BEAD JOSE IGNACIO
 ROLANDOCLOPEZO RUIZ WITH WHOM HAD CONTACT IN JAIL. PLS ADVISE
 ETA BY IMMEDIATE. WILL MEST AT AIRPORT BUT IF ANYTHING GGES
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 - 4. FILE 281-798391.

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	1. Forwarde	ed under separate cover	for each	address	see is
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	2. The Stat	cion hopes that contact	between	LIRING-	3 and
	representatives of	of the Guatemalan rebels e. Station plans are t	will be	e initiat eetly su	ted cveil
	meetings between the first such me	LIRING-3 and his Guates	alan cor	tact af	ter
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ATT HITAMETYAZ

lunturala 22 de Cotubre de 1966.

Seffor :

desea :.

Carlos Jurado Ltl Mar

MOV 29 1968 DOC. MICRO, BES.

Moxico D. P.

Apresiable yn distinguido amigo Carlos cuanto gusto es para mi saludarlo desandole cicha y felicidad.

No saté cuato me alegro que ya hayan recobrado esa angustiada libertai espero en Dios que se restablesca pronto de esa gran angustia le causaron ni Pais y también que esto lo vuelva a suseder ya que eso es muy duro de coportar.

os- Es cuanto tengo que decirle y percone las faltas de-Ortografía que he cometido pero todavía me encuentro un tanto nervioso colodana a Porcabal y Unico un carinoso saludo de su amigo que verlo

Rafael Armeta

cit: Guatemala

mi direccion es la siguiente :

2 Av. 27%57Zona 12 Guatemana C. A.

en el sobre le voy a poner otra si es que ne contesta Agalo a esta por favor.esta que le anote aca acentro

re: contact with, sol-798 301

A DALIA AZUL
ENRIQUI: PUENTE C.
ARTICULOS PARA CADALLEROS

LA AVENICA Y 101. CALLE
TEL 44-72
GUATEMALA, C. A.

Seffor:

Carlos Juraco cel Mar

Havre.# 7

Col. Juarez Lamico D. P.

O AEREO

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R Copy

Resite: Rafael Argueta A-11 Av. 25/22 Lone 12 Guatemaia C. A.

Chief, WH Division Chief of Station, Guatemala City

Chief of Station, Mexico City

Letter Received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala

Actica Required: FYI

Reference : MEXICO CITY-7945, 4 November 1968

- 1. Forwarded under senarate cover for each addressee is a Kerox copy of the letter recently received by LIRING-3 from Gualossia messages at a second.
- 2. The Station hopes that contact between LIRING-3 and representatives of the Guatemalan rebels will be initiated in the near future. Station plans are to discreetly surveil meetings between LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contact after the first such meeting.

for Willard C. CURTIS

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A. JUAN CARRERA	, WIFE DARIA O	ARCIA DE CAR	RERA, AND CH	ILDREI
LIVE ELEVEBIH AVENUE	ADDRESS. HOWE	VER , BROTHER	S RIGOBERTO	AND RAFAEL
ARGUETA ARE OWNERS A	NO LIVED THERE	PREVIOUSLY.	HOUSE NOW U	P FOR SALE.
LUIS ARGUETA, FATHER	OF BROTHERS.	LIVES IN CHI	QUIMULA:	
B. SECOND AVENUE	E ADDRESS OCCU	PIED BY CAND	ELARIO ALVAR	APO AND
FAMILY. 90 FURTHER DE	ETAILS BUT NAM	E INDICATES	POSSIBLE FAM	ILY TIE
WITH ARGUETA ALVARAD	O BROTHERS.			
C. "LA DALIA AZ	UL", OWNED BY	ENRIQUE PUEN	TE C., DOES	XIST AS
INDICATED REFERENCE.		. * *		
2. STATION FILES	SHOW:			
A. NO TRACES CA	RRERA AND FAMI	LY, PUENTE,	LUIS ARGUETA	OR
ALVARADO.		·		
B. PRESSA LIBRE	, 28 AUGUST 19	68, REPORTED	THAT RAFAEL	ARGUETA
ALVARADO ARRESTED DU	RING MAY DAY F	ARADE 1967 A		Partiful 1968
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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CIPY 9675 SECRET PUE LACK EVIDENCE.

- C. ON 15 SEPT 1957 LIAISON REPORTED IT INVESTIGATING RIGORERTO GEORGETA ALVARAGO WHOSE TAME IN DOCUMENTS CAPTURED DURING THAT ON GUERRILLA MEETING BITE IN GUALEMALA CITY. HIS RESIDENCE GIVEN AS 11 AV. 25-22, ZCMZ 12, WHERE HE LIMED WITH MOTHER AND TWO EROTHERS. HIS SONS WORKED IN INTERIOR. PRENSA LIERE OF 25 MAY 1967 AND 28 AUGUST 1968 REPORTED, RESPECTIVELY, THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL DETAINED I MAY 1967 AND REALEASED FROM PRISON AUGUST 1968 FOR LACK EVIDENCE.
- D. MGGA-5975, 23 SEP 1967, REPORTED THAT LIAISON INVESTIGATING MISUEL FRANCISCO ARGUETA ALVARADO VHO IT WAS LEARNED THAD CONTACTS WITH SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WHO RESPONSIBLE FOR SABOTAGE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. LIAISON MADE ATTEMPT TO RECRUIT HIX BUT TOURING INTERVIEW HE SHOWED SIGNS OF FEAR INDICATING HE BELIEVED HIMSELF TO BE ASSASSINATION TARGET.
- 3. FILE: 221-248317. INDEX: ALVARADO, AND RAFAEL, RICOBERTO, MIGUEL FRANCISCO ARGUETA ALVARADO.

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INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA CITY
RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AND PLANNED TO LEAVE FOR
MOSCOW VIA MEXICO JAN 60. 306942

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ARGUETA, LUIS BARRIOS

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CIT GUATEMALA

INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA

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:	SHOULD BE CANDID WITH LIE	RING/10 AND TELL HIM WE	HAT ALLO AS MU	ICH AS HE	_
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	DETAILS HIS IMPRISONMENT,	, IT COULD BE COUNTERPE	RODUCTIVE TO	OPERATION	
:	SINCE LIRING/10 PROBABLY	COULD CHECK OTHER SOUL	RCES FOR ACCU	JRACY.	- :
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	BELIEVE IT MORE ADVANTAGE	OUS FOR HIM TO REMAIN	MEXICO AND	TTEMPT	
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Attached	is an operati	onal review of the LI	RING-3 operation p	repared
by Wallace B.	ROWTON. Atte	ntion is also called	to PBQ Parts I and	n.
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9 November. 1916.

Subject: Review and Assessment of LTHING Operation.

L. Background Character and Assessment of II/II/3/3:

1. Limins/3 (Subject) is a 26-weer-cld Mexicon extint of the Dieco hivers Debool and an extraistic existentialist chiented toward the oblicosophy of Jean Faul Daruma, with relatively attend leftist political convictions. He has produced a fair exount of tainting and had relatively good success in murals both in Juba and Mexico, but has not succeeded in salling me. Who his works/destite numbrous explicions, atomsored by the Makican Government classic arts organization (Felles Artes). Because of his family, elucational and extraored to the factorial following the Herican Government and tends appreciated for its intrinsic worth by the Herican Government and tends to blaze his atthictal convictions for white lash of screttance. Subject, however, has, as he binself asserts, no feelings of bitterneds for rescutent, elthough he frequently experiences the "entries, forelornness and hobliness" of the existentialist, out he assert repair ted himself to defenerate into a bearnix either in his personal to tryistic life. Subject has confided to lowton that he has no real friends had that he has no real friends ind that he has withdrawn from society, the flowater of whom, "to revelor accept, he enfort the prospect of trevel, expectably choose, "to revelor as ert" but also as an easen from the pressured and colimations of the society the has been forced to lead in Aexico.

3. Shortly after he not Rowter, in Arril, 1966, Splifect confessed that he felt himself at a chilical joint in his ergonal and arpistic life. To inclosed that he felt the paradoxes inhoral in his pailostphy were overwhelming and depressing his and that He reloaded friendship
with Powton, an experienced Moreigner whom he felt he could trust imthicitly. At one critical point, Subject built his rather pedious job
with the Ministry of Education (teaching art in a public school) with the content that "everyone must make tersinal decisions and take risks, and I have decided to throw my lot in with you (houton) for bester or worse. and so have quit the job since it was interfering with in availability". This he did without knowing any more about kowton than his mame, which technical surveillance revealed he did not accept as a true name, and with no quarantees of Juture financial surport from howton, in his conversations with Subject, has been pareful not to reveal any detaconcerning his personal life and background, including his bermanent or local address, providing Subject only with the number of a telephone answering service, and using the safehouse rented by Subject as a principal point of condact. Subject has accented money from Rowson, at figst only for treviously approved expenses, and subsequently for his personal use, but has accepted Rowton's initiative in this matter, and sale no demands on ackton for remuneration for services rendered. Le has been meticulous in accounting for funds and shown no reluctance to sign receives presented to him by Rowton (with his true-name as mature). Subject has confessed, (and shown) an almost conclete lack of experience in business and intellisence work, but has accepted howten's juidance. where required, without heritation.

es cuba

201-798301

Development of LIRY 3/3 by houten:

- .6. Rowton met Subject in April 1986 by cold at roach in the art studie where subject at the time was presenting his latest works unlet somewhat of Felles Artes. Lowton them and Creek businessman interested in Duffect's style and his immediate opjective at the time was to ascertain the address in lew Yorn dity of Subject's wife's father (a Subject had a finise origin the had but a man a refuse). Rowton, feeling that he had to present an slove-avera a prospect to Subject to semin future mestings, slleged that he was alkings to arrange for the pair that of a mural to be installed in a new York with the fine Share somether). Note in felt that the refining of performent at the "In Jean-somethe", house in felt that the refining a law York of hytolog rower in the law your cold had advantage of determining Subject's relationate power in the law York Sity and in a Neutreois invironment.
- 7. Whisot to sted very favorably so the intical approach and reserved he was invite mich to disher in the contact of unicative wife the cent evenion. For business and his wife very countries in moveding any specific was concessed their total of received their total of received their total of received received their total of received received their total of received received their and the compution in the exist. As a result of this received received resligated that and the trappet of a first anticent to either limited or his offe, who was then attributed part-time at the cultar Computate, which be nontranductive and that a none subtle approach would have up he cavelored. As your decided that a strong personal relationship developed with Surject would be productive and could even unable the documental actions a could be productive.
- 8. When, therefore, on 2 kmm. 16%. Dubfect of ressed provisional and having not howton and indicated that he wished to continue his friendly contacts, resurdless of whether howton purchased his painting or arreaded for the nural, Howton ex moved in with an offer to "lire" Bubject as his business associate on an unofficial basis, so that Subject could acquire a degree of indevence financially and perhaps do some traveling for Rowton. In order to devilor as much clamestitude as possible in his future contacts with Subject, Howton explained that he was simily a bourist in hemico and as such not permitted to entage in Subject's discretion in any dealings he would therefore have to defend on Subject's discretion in any dealings he might have with him. Subject accepted this as quite normal but pointed out to Roton his limitations was far as business training and experience went. In reply to kowton's query, he did confess, however, that he had encellent contacts in Havana that could be exploited for business dealings with Cuba. He volunteered to make an exploratory trip to Havana to renew his friendship with the perons concerned. Rowton accepted this offer, not only to test Subject's story but also to seize the occasion to be in a position to provide subject with money to make the trip and thus compromise him somewhat at the cutset.
- 9. Rowton's next move was to explain to Subject that he had a lang-term interest in Cuba and hoped to do a great deal of business in the future but first felt it was essential that both he and Subject develop the troper contacts inside to ensure success. Subject readily agreed to this and falt relieved that howom did not extend him to produce concrete results everagint, when nowton, therefore the essential that he had and rent a saferouse for envertailment and development of the active contacts, Subject to work invedictely without cuestion. (Ilthour nowton's subject first reads on 47 June, Subject aid not succeed in finding a suitable place until the end of only Elis project, he ever, make subject something made the ard relatively classisting to do for howton without seriously acturation and of his principles. Subject, or in developed later, was interested in succeed in the principles. Subject, or in developed the purposes.

official to library with some friends. This then retried into interior of interior of interior in interiors and the few offices of the control of the wind to reinself off the library and the few offices of the control of the wind realizable of the result of the state of the control of the control of the control of the result of the control of isotropial. The control of the contr

13. 'n a possible Addictives substrumently celled in by Curbelo and Ceneda and asked to offer his services to belt the Unicondition that in its work in Central Emerica. On howter's advice (which Ambient sollicited) passoffer was accepted on condition that the work to be done would be serious (i.e. worth the personal misks Subject would have to run) and that Subject would be remaitted to work without the overt involvement of the local because, These conditions were promotly accepted and Subject was invited to visit Havens are in so that he could be bristed on the spot by Osmani Cienfuego and his staff.

14. Subject was thus detapulted into the level of IS activites, with Rowton managers and into a position of extinence prise. It remains to be seen following Subject's return from Mayana (estim ted at 21 Movember, 1966) whether Subject will be entrusted with secret requirements by the Tricontinental, but it appears certain at this point that Mowton will be able to provide full ruidence to Jubject and to steer the operations he might be engaged in toward targets of interest to the contract.

C- Biographical Lata Elected from LIRTEG/3:

15. Subject was born in Mexico City in 1930 of a middle class family. Subject's grandfather was a well-known textile merchantiwho served some 12 years as president of the Chamber of Connerce. At least one of Subject's aunts is currently well-to-do and the owner of several apartment houses in Mexico City. Subject has at present little or no contact with his family.

16. At the one of 15 ladient left home so fold see Mard to Jivy. Dublets has contented to lavion what him exhibited as not normaleularly here and that his rether and father somewhat, a terminal, after a was in his terms. It area to likely take bulkers left none as a passible of Jania dissention. This attent the color of the war is essention.

47. The supplies the fouri or for all senses for 48, further had to have his binus contilients alread to how that is hed from term in 4027 taken that 400. In concess you is on the official rooseness for some bin his hintledge of 500, including his or apports.

46. Subject carvided throughtern birds in the love and visited secret all the permanent services and very a company of the content of the con

29. Subject was tarried in 1750 at the arc of twenty years to a young Mexican woman from Leon, GTC. and durin the next ten years had at at least four children by her. He divorced his wife in about 1950, just prior to his departure for Subs, but he had not been on mood terms with her for several years trior to the divorce. From about 1954 to 1950, subject worked in the Mexican Government Social Tervice among the Indians in the southern states of hexico. Subject attributes sons of the tension that arose between his and his wife to this employment venture. He domented to Mowton that his first wife wanted to live a gulet normal life in Hexico City and was unwilling to share with him the hardships of social work in remote areas of tratical Mexico. Buring this neriod Subject and cally developed his own coule in printing and began to establish close contacts with lexican art circles.

21. Subject went to Suba in about 1960 "to join the revolution", apparently as a result of his increasingly leftist colitical symbothies. He did a relatively harve excluse of cainting and mural work during his four-year residence in Suba, while at the came time working in the Ministry of Labor and Education. In about 1961 he married a Suban words of Chinese crimin from Bantisto de Suba and the following year a (min) child was born to ther in davana. Subject has told Rowton that he has had very fittle contact with his first wife rince his divorce and never to almony. He added that his family, no vever, has continued to the an interest in his first wife and the children of his first typicale and has achied to surrort them ficancially. Subject in the Sirst Tim Cuth. Subject devaloged close fileworking with rear Suban revolutionspies, particularly armol he bridge, when wife worked with Subject in the finittry of Subject on the time when irred kodrigues was service as Eleister of Fabor.

of. Subject returned to Forico lity in 1984 with his new wife and child (now he had necessional artist but supplemented the rather modest income had been a traffessional artist but supplemented the rather modest income he scalined from the calle of his mainting by teaching ant orivately and in Nexiona public spacels. His monthly income dur no action and early 1966 did not exceed 3.000 pesos.

Walker O Carre

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0	REF MEXICO CITY 7803 (10 35-32)
C	1. LIMING-3 RECEIVED BRIEF TYPEWRITTEN UNBIGNED LETTER
	DATED 22 OCT FROM "RAFAEL ARGUETA A." LETTER WHICH CONTAINS MANY
0	TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS EXPRESSED HAPPINESS LIRING-3 FINALLY RELEASED
0	AND HOPED ME WILL SOON RECOVER FROM THE "GRAN ANGUSTIA" CAUSED
	BY "MY COUNTRY." WRITER CONCLUDED WITH APOLOGIES FOR MISTAKES
0	IN ORTHOGRAPHY AND EXPRESSED DESIRE SEE LIRING-3 AGAIN. ASKED
9	LIRING-3 TO REPLY TO HIM AT FOLLOWING ADDRESS: 2 AVE 27, 57,
_	ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. RATHER THAN TO ONE APPEARING AS RETURN
<u>P.</u>	ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE.
0	2. ENVELOPE IS AIRMAIL STATIONERY "LA DALIA AZUL, EBRÍQUE
	PUENTE C, ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS, SU AVENIDA Y 1CA CALLE,
0	TEL: 44-72, GUATEMALA, C.U." WITH RETURN ADDRESS ON BACK: RAFAEL
0	ARGUETA A., 11 AV. 25 22, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. ENVELOPE IS
	POSTMARKED 22 OCTOBER 1968 AND IS ADDRESSED TO LIRING-3 AT CALLE
0	HAVRE 7, COL. JUANEZ, MEXICO, D.F. (SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICANA
0	WHICH LIRING-3 HAD GIVEN TO JUAN AND MIGUEL LEON BARRIOS AS BEST
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		der separate cover are twelve the activities of LIRING-3, I				
	after 15 June) and has on the sale of painting in the hope that she are sisted all of ROWTOM to PERUMEN, a mission foreigner, LIRING-4 condeported, if caught, refused a visa to go to difficulties in Guater she succeeded in obtain	nniless (RCWTON has made only been moving from one spertmags left by LIRING-3 and small may be able to do something follows to get her to und, as Heacquarters knows, was innot work in Mexico without Although she has not tried it to Guatemala to visit LIRING-mala including possible detending an entry permit to that	ent to a 1 loans or ITRIN ertake a planned taking t to, she w 3. She w tion and	cheaper one living from leftist contacts. G-3, ITRING-4 has clandestine mission long ago. As a he chance of being ould probably be might also face interrogation if		
	her Mexican leftist or try to bribe the Guste "Friends" succeeded in (some of them with LIF	wher 1968 LIRING-4 had receive coutright Communist friends, emalso judge scheduled to try doing was to print several a RING-3's photo) claiming that is about to be executed, etc.	In spi- LIRING- rticles LIRING-	te of promises to 3 all IRING-4's in the local press 3 was unjustly		
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articles did little to prejudice the Gustemalans in favor of LIRING-3. As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Guatemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was saved from a prison "transfer" by the Guatemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

- 4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIFING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PERUMENS still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guatewala is indicated by the statements make by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTON's 17 July report) to the effect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTON under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOWIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.
- 5. Statements such as those made by REYES confirm the Station's belief that LIRING, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate ROWTON. Such statements also re-enforce the decision of the Station not to attempt, through limited, to obtain the release of 'TOTAM-1 Confirm attempt, it it leaked, would not only expose LIRING-3 to PBRUMEN and Guatemalan FAR reprisals. It would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWTON's security. LIRING-11 whom ROWTON met briefly on 5 July (see ROWTON's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRING-3's arrest when ROWTON complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRING-3 remained unanswered. It is also to be noted that REYES, who of course knows that LIMING-4 is in Mexico, told ECCTON that she was probably in PBRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRING views ROWTON.
- 6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando TSUATIZ of the Ministry of Culture new in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David AIFINO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRIVG-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUG-1 no effort was made to approach him.
- 7. Contacts between ROWTON and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to WOFIRM has sharply decreased and because LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTON cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTON since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTON and the Station.

Spraid D. Fahlange for Willard C. CURTIS

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Subject: Wallace B. Routon Meeting with LIRING/4.

- 1. Rowton met with LIHING/A at the Punto Blanco Restaurant from about 1900 until 2015 on 16/5/68. LIRING/4 had telephoned Mowton's answering service and left a message that "Dr. Barragán would see him at his office" at that time and date.
- 2. LIRING/4 reported that she had learned that seven Suatemalans residing in Mexico City had been arrested along with Rodolfo Sandoval. She had learned this from Manuel Marcué Pardiñas but was not able to learn the identities of the other seven. She recalled that Marcué had said that Sandoval had been arrested on 5 May, 1968, just after his wife had arrived from Guatezala, and that he, Marcué, was burdened with the support not only of Francisco Lara's family (wife, nother and children) but now of Sandoval's wife. Liming/4 understood that rarcué had moved these dependents into one of his several houses in the city. LIMING/4 added that finally she decided to avoid any further contact with Marcué since he has become a complete nursance, telephoning and droppping in unannounced at all hours of the night.
- 3. LIBING/4 also reported that she had obtained a job at the Secretaria de Conercio y Industria, paying 1,200 pesos permenth, through Tergio Gonzalez Marin, and had started working regular hours (1000-1400) on 13/5/68. When she, however, mentioned this to Zacosta (FMU, phon.), Director of the office of Relaciones Culturales of the Sec Relaci mes Exteriores, he told her to quit the job immediately since it was not legal for her to work, particularly in a government office where official records were kept. He promised to help her find a job where she could work on the Q.T. without jeopardizing her inmi ration status.
- 4. LIE EG/4 also reported that she ad received three short notes from LIRING/3 mailed from the prison where he is being detained. She stated that she was reassured by these letters that L/3 is in reasonably good bealth, despite the fact that he and his fellow arr/estees were not given any food for nine days following their arrest on 13/4/68.
- 5. LIBING/4 stated that she had talked to LIBING/2 after his return from FBRUMEN and found him very suntanned and thinner. L/2 told her that he had been cutting cane and had gotten engaged to a local woman while he was "on vacation". L/2 stated that he most probably would remain in Fexico through the Clympics, although he did not state when he planned to get married. L/2 regretted that he and his office could not help L/4 financial ly, but he encouraged L/4 to visit the balloc whenever she wished.

apartment in the Edificio Condesa, Letra 4, 46, for 1,100 peros per month, througher friend, Blanca Feña, who lives in spartment 2 of Letra 0. She added that she had everence the problem of the finder by applying to a sr. Buficz who advertised in the newspaper and provided her with a certain sra. Gloria Beltrán, Calle Tajin 21,Col. Mayerte (at a fee of 330 peros). She also stated that she has already given the administrator of the edificio Condesa at 300 pero "gratificación" to hold the apartment until she can alreage the finder contract.

7. Roston then suggested that liming/4 might consider making her true to PBRUNER in the near future since it appeared to him an ideal time. L/4 replied that, although the felt obliged to make the trip'in view of her previous commitment to moston, she felt it premature. She stressed her com finund smulety even the college of lys, consenting that she was the only person who could be counted on to correspond with him, and that such correspondence from PERVARN would be very difficult and slow. Rewton then suggested that perhaps L/4 might be able to obtain a visa to visit L/3 for a short time to discuss with hir the desirability of the trip and arrange to provide him with paints and canvasses. L/4 agreed that this would ease her mind and permit her to make the trip to FBRUMEN with less concer but she wondered whether a trip to Guatenala, provided, of course, that sh could get the visa, night possibly make matters worse for L/3 since L/4 would have to travel on her PBRUKEN passport. Rowton agreed with this and su gested the following: (a) L/# write immediately to the Mexican Consul asking him his opinion and requesting him to check it out with L/3; (b) L/4 discuss the matter scorest with L/2, explaining that she has decided to make her trip to PRECHER during L/3's imprisonment but that she hoped to visit him before leaving Mexico. 1/4 agreed and added that she would invite L/2 to dinner at the home of Blanca Peña (de Amand) where sh was currently staying as a house guest.

8. Rowton stressed that he did not wish under any circumst noes to "force L/4 to make the trip to PERUKEN, but he felt the time most opportune and he was not in a position financially to assist L/4 to any significant degree if she remained in Mexico. Rowton added that he failed to see how L/4 could earn enough in any "unofficial" job she might obtain. L/4 agreed to think the matter over and give Rowton her decision at their next meeting scheduled for 1300 on 20/5/63.

SEC.

Wallece B. Roston

20 May, 1965

Subject: LIMING/4 Report of Convergation with MIRING/2.

1. At 1300 on 20 May, 1968, I LING/4 reported to Rowton at the Punto Blanco restaurant that she had seen LIKING/2 at the lIMING offices and. as instructed by moston, discussed with him her difficult finaboial situation resulting from the detention of LIATAG/3. She then stated that she was seriously considering taking her long planned trip to 18808.2. since there she would be able to resolve the problem of living expanses. LIMING/2 sympathized with her but asked her not to make any rash decision. He pointed out that although her tofcrary financial problem would be solved, the noral obligation she had to follow LIRING/3's case from as close to Guatemala as possible would argue in favor of her whiting a little more. LIRING/4 told souten that she felt that LIRING/8 was prompted to say this in light of a comment she had gust made to min that a certain Lic. Castillo, a Guatemalan layyer affiliated with the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City, had gottan in touch with her over the weekend and told her he had come to Mexico City in connection with LIRTIG/3's case which he was handling at the request of the Embassy. (LIRING/4 told Rowton that Castillo was staying in room 904 of the El Presidente Hotel and that she talked to him there for about 15 minutes.)

- 2. LIBING/2 then said that he would do everything he could to find some sort of work to help HRI G/4 financially. He connented that work in the LIRING offices proper was out of the question, since the only persons emplyed there now are party members and from the IBRUER capital. He sided, however, that he would propose to the LIRING "consejo" that LIRING/4 be given a position in the outside cultural office. He stressed that he could not promise anything, but he would do what he could to convince the powers that be.
- 3. LIRING/4 premised mowton to press HRING/2 for this job since it would indicate the extent to weich the LIRING Chief trusted her and give her some official access to the establishment, limited though it might be.

W.B. Rewton

Subject:

WA 3,400 B. Fowton Reeting with LIMING/4.

1. Rowton met with IIHING/4 at the Biana Restaurant, Calle Mississippi, from 1300 until about 1410 on 11 June, 1968. LIRING/4 reported that she had finally moved into the apartment in the Edificio Condesa with the few pieces of furniture of the Tacubaya apartment. She stated that she intended to remain in close touch with her friend Blanca Feña de Amand and, of course, Catalina Cepero, at shose homes she hoped to be able to take her main meals. IIAING/4 added that she was still attmepting to find some sort of work to help her meet her expenses, as well as to find a person, preferably a FREENER student, to rent a room in her apartment.

2. With regard to employment Herical eteted that LIRING/2 had told her the previous week that his recommendation that she been employed in the (outside) LIRING cultural office had been turned down and consequently she had appealed to hexican friends to help her find employment. She also told Rowton that she had queried LIRING/2 about FRANKEN students who might share her spartment but was told that the only female students (two) at present in Kexico were studying in Fatzcuaro.

3. LIRING/4 continued that she had been receiving letters regularly from LIRING/3 directly from his place of confinement. She showed Rowton a portion of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 stated that there were about 25000 prisoners in all and that he feels obliged to share whatever food he can purchase with the money sent to him by LIRING/4 with six others who are closest to him and whose relatives cannot provide even the essentials of a basic diet. According to LIRING/4, LIRING/3 has not complained about what appear to be very difficult conditions but has revealed his constant fear of physical violence, the threat of which he feels hangs over the prison. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she had finally obtained officially notarized statements from the proper Mexican authorities testifying to LIRING/3 s bona fices as an artist, as requested by the Nexican Consul. The gave Rowton a letter from the latter which requests this information(copy of which is attached).

4. LIRING/4, in reply to Rowton's queries, stated that she still hoped to be able to make the trip to FRRUMEN but could not consider leaving Fexico at this time in view of LIRING/3's situation and the fact that she was the only point of contact he had on the outside. Rowton sympathized with her but stressed that his ability to help her financially was limited by her

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performance in terms of the contract between them. Rowton reminded LIRING/4 that he contract had terminated as of 15#May,1968, and could be extended only on the condition that she would be able to make the trip. He added that he falt he could pay her for the period 15 May until 15 June,1968, but that would have to constitute a final payment unless LIMING/4 could commit herself to future production. Rowton added that in addition he would have to deduct the 1,875 peace he gave to her as a travel advance inasmuch as this money was not used for the purpose intended.

5. LIGING/4 replied that, much to her regret, she could not make any firm commitment regarding the trip at the moment. She stated that she was attempting to maintain friendly relations with the LIRING personnel but had to be confirme in the light of Liming/3's edmonition to her to avoid contact with the establishment ("la casa grande" as he described it. She then stated that she had attended a play on the evening of 7 June at shich she met socially with LIRING personnel in the audience. She added that IIRING/10 greeted her codially and that she spoke briefly with LIRING/9 and LIRING/13 as well as LIRING/16. LIRING/4 also stated that she had learned from LI.IEG/17, who had just returned from an unexpected TDY that their mutual friend "Echemendia" had been called up on the carpet for the inferior job he had done during his last commercial mission to Mexico City: LIRING/4 also reported that she had been given a very brilef note from her friend Yolanda hand-carried by IIRIIG/17 in shich Yolanda wrote that she as still hoping that LIRING/4 would be able to make the trip. ROWTON COMMENT: Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will make the trip to PBRUAZN wit in the next two months or sooner, provided she is assured that LIRING/3 is resigned to his fate and that efferything has been done to support his appeal. Rowton has told LIRING/4 that he can give her only minimum financial support in the future, and that only on behalf of LIRING/3. Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will have great difficulty supporting herself even on a subsistence level during the next month, and will probably reconsider her decision regarding the trip. Rowton feels he should not put any direct pressure on LIRING/4 in the light of personal situation.

SECRE! Vallace B. Royton

SECRET

AYAS A LA COLL CRANTE URGENIE
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ENTRARRUZ VIVIATERUALA

AV. VERACRUZ VIVIATERUALA

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MENTO II. D. F.

Ing. Cet: 40 N. Gerram Conul Several de Alléxico

SECRET

Guatemala, 21 de mayo de 1958.

Sra. Miriaz Chichay de Júrado. Múxico, D. P.

Estimada Sra:

Me reflero a su grata carta de 17 del actual para informar a Ud. que Carlos se encientra sin novedad, su aspecto físico
co innegorable y su amino may reventado, pues na sacido asimilar
esta emergencia con filosofía.

despecto a su situación, estamos bastante optimistas pues configuos ampliamente en la rectitui del juez. Yá se presenta-ron tras terrigos de descargo y el el curdo de la présente semana se tomará feclaración a otros fos. Hemos corrido con la sucrte de que para todas las diligencias los plazos se han acortado al máximo.

Ni un solo momento lo nemos dejado solo, tanto a él como a Manuel, pues constantemente se les ha estado visitario, unas veces nuestro incargado de Regocios, otras nuestro abogado asesor y el suscrito.

Su carta anterior la recibió en propias manos y tambie: le informé de la tarjeta que Ud. ne puso.

Tanto la Sra. Enroué de Persabal, como la esposa de Manuel, los estuvieron visitario casi a diario durante su estudcia en ésta. No les ha faltado nain pues la 3 a. Tarcué dejó 175 dolares para que se les estuviera proviendo de lo necesario. A Irrlos se le llevó un olock para dibujo que pidió y se les llevan periodicamente cigarros, etc.

. El jueves iré a verlos de nuevo y yá le informaré de su carta.

No creo que sea necesario que venga Ud. pues puede tener la seguridad de que estatos haciendo todo lo que está en nuestras manos por resolverles su situación a la brevedad posible. No sería de lo malo que esté ed. en contacto con la Sría de Relaciones para estar al tanto del caso, pues estoy informando constattemente del curso del proceso. Creo que será cuestión de más o menos tiempo pero tengo confianca en que todo se resolverá fávorablemente.

Por conducto de la esposa de Manuel le chviè recado que sería conveniente enviara una constancia de Bellas àrtes abonsado la conducti de su esposo y que este documento lo llevara a legalizar ante el Consulado de Guatemala en México (Vallarta # 1) pues ayudaría mumo para probar su solvencia moral.

SECRET

Perdóneme si con enterioridad no le había informado, pero consideré que ora innocesario nicerlo mientras no se tuviera algo contrato como es la declaración de los testigos de descargo.

Tenga confianca y talma que estamos viendo éste caso con profundo interés y sumparia.

Le ruego saludar de mi parte a mi buen amigo Daniel (su suegro) de quien hace diempo no tengo noticias y decirle que su amigo de Arriaga lo recueria con afecto.

Procuraré tenerla informada y puede/escribirme cuantas veces lo desee.

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Suyo afmo. atto. y S. S.

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MONTH 22 - SECRET Esta in al plape part in sent fix procesope processe; és manétain inmedant de La mino ? Infor la évan de Le y Louis your minist ma te inderne dies (Cime tu. Milia a la presion a dien directamente. Ha Correspondences Leta Econocida. Les ja testa que mundaste at Consul. NO SE TE OCURNA POR NINGUN NOTIVO SALIR DE MEXICO. Récibe Todo un Carrie Carlos

18 Juce, 1968

CONTACT REFORM

- 1. Agent: LIRING/4
- 2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1300,18/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
- 3. Date and Site of Next Meeting: 1030, 20/6/68; Diana Lestaurant.
- 4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent: LIRIN/4 reported to Roston that she had received two distressing letters from LIRING/3 complaining about the miserable conditions under which he is living very meager food, unsanitary quarters, and the constant fear of physical violence. LIRING/4 showed moston a paragraph of one of the letters in smich LIRING/3 asks her to appeal to the "socio" to influence the judge by a gratificación of 100 quetzals so that he sould dismiss one case when it fintally came to trial early the following month. LIRING/3 stated that the judge to be influenced was a certain Juan Sanchez, Official Tercero del Juzgado Cuarto de Primera Instancia. LIRING/3 added that he felt there was no other solution, since it had become evalent that the Nexican Imbassy could do nothing to speed up the final release and that if Rowton could not intervene, anything could happen.

HARMG/4 also reported that she had been asked by LIRING/9 to see him the next day (19/6/68) at his office. She did not know the purpose of the invitation, but assured LIRING/9 wanted to be briefed on the latest developments in the LIRING/3 case.

5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent: Rowton sympathized with LIRING/4 in her distress over the desperate situation being faced by LIRING/3 but stressed that intervention on his part was not as easy as LIRING/3 might think. He pointed out that since LIRING/4 to date had not been able to make the IBRINEN trip he could not ask his own colleagues in Europe to intervene through their Guatemalan government contacts and that therefore anything that he could do himself would not be effective. LIRING/4 did not volunteer any indication of her intention regarding the trip, and Mowton felt he could not press her in view of her frame of mind at the time. He suggested that they meet again after LIRING/4 talked with LIRING/9 in the hope that the latter might make some important comments on the case.

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W. . Rowton

9 July,1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/11.

- 1. After several days of attempts by Rowton to met with LIRING/11 in the wicinity of his (LIRING/11's) residence (which is about six blocks frog Rowton's home) Howton finally succeeded at about 1600 on 5 July, 1968.
- 2. Rowbon hadchecked the home address of LIRING/11 about 1550 that day and when he had found that LIRING/11's car had not been parked in front. hailed a cab passing in the opposite direction. As an after-thought however. Rooten asked the call to go elound one block on the off chance that he might catch LIRING/11 approaching his home from the intersection of Gutenberg and Ejercito Nacional. Fortunately just as Rowton's cab approached LIRING/11's apartment house, he spotted LIRING/11 alighting from his car in front of the building. Rowton stopped the cab and ran over to greet LIRING/11.
- 3. LIRING/11 although obviously surprised at seeing Rowton in that area. responded cordially. Rowton alleged that he had been in Switzerland and Canada most of the time since he had last seen LIRING/11, and to his regret had lost contact withth wutual friends ?LIRING/3 and Iden A. Rowton continued that he had written LIRING/3 at least five letters from Europe with had not received any answer, and had found that he had moved from his Atoyac address as well as his Tacubaya studio. LIRING/11 did not volunteer any information concerning the whereabouts of LIRING/3 but immediately gave worton the news that Iden A was working at a sort of night club (giving the name and street on which it was located.)
- 4. Rowton then said that he had hoped to be able to invite LIRING/11 to-lunc... tut he had to take a short trip to Nuevo Larddo to attempt to arrange for the purchase of a car. (This was thrown out as bait wines in view of a comment by LIRING/4 that LIRING/11 was scheduled to return PCS and would have to sell his car). LIRING/11 did not react to this, simply suggesting that Rowton get in touch with him as soon as Rowton returned.
- 5. Rowton then returned to the waiting cab and continued his trip, taking the opportunity to mention to the driver in the course of conversation that he was a businessman from Europe (Switzerland) who often visited Mexico.

Wallace Browton P// 26 4

9 July,1958

Subject: LIRING/4 megent of activities.

1. Rowton met with 1373.0/4 at 1900 on 8 July,1968, at the Sears Restaurant on Insurgentes. Fe had not seen her for the previous ten days because of his leave (28/6/68-5/7/68).

2. IMAING/4 reported that an old friend, Tien A, had arrived the previous week from the IBRURIN capital, and that she had seen him several times prior to his roving to Guernavaca. She commented that Iden a was divorced and lived alone (his wife having been a natorious model of loose morals). She added that his apparent are is 40, and that he must have political influence since he obtained a six-month exit parmit following the invitation of Signatures.

3. LIMING/4 then related that she received a message early in the previous week that Iden A was trying to get in touch with her and she accordingly went to the LIMING offices on 27/6/68 to find its address. When she entered the office of LLARG/9, she found it provided and was on the point of leaving (after getting the address of Iden A) When LIKENG/9 approached her and asked her to take a ride in his car so that he could "chat "with her. IIRING/4 told moston that she assumed that IIRING/9 was enroute to one of the Secretariats in a rush and had asked her to accompany him to that he could save time by talking to her on the way. She was therefore surprised when he drove her to the Vaca begra on Insurgentes and later returned with her to the offic 4. According to LIBING/4, LIKING/9 asked her routine gutstions as to how she was making out living as she was on her own. LIATEG/4 relied that she was doing the best she could to raise enough money to survive, through part-time ... work arranged by Sra. Chumaceira of Artes Alasticas, the sale of some of LIRING/3's paintings and financial help from her father (all of which is partly true). She then asked LIHING/9 for a "loan" to tide her over the weekend, to which he responded with a 100 peso bill. IIAIAG/9 commented that things were going well with his office financially as a result of the increased fees. He dropped the figure \$6,000 (US) as receipts for the previous mont LIRING/4 asked acaton for his opinion as to why LIAING/9 would take off an hour or so on such a busy day to drive her around town, commenting that she herself could not understand his motives. She aid not get the impression that be war interested in her personally since in that case he would have invited himself to her apattment to asked her out to dinner in the evening 5. Rowton replied that he assumed that LIADS/9 had received some sort of

official request from his superiors to determine the conditions under which LIMING/4 was living as well as her general attitude following the arrest of LIMING/3. LIMING/4 promised to continue to see LIMING/9 and her other LIMING friends as often as possible, but stranged that she could not target herself at them without attracting undue attention.

6. IIRIDS/4 then continued that when she finally got in touch with Iden A he was nost cordial, inviting her for a trip to Cuernavaca, and expressing concern for the welfare of IIRIDG/3. Iden A commented to IIRIDG/4 that he had arrived from the IERIMEN capital with only twenty Mexican person which he had left from a previous trip and that he would have to count on the generouity of Siqueiros for his living expenses during his anticipated threemonth stay in Mexico. IIRIPG/4 teld Acaton that she felt certain that Ifin i was not a CT collect, although she exact not as yet determine wasther or not her was pro-regime. The explained that at their first meetings she felt it best to steer clear of politics and let Iden A do the talking. IIRICG/4 added that she expected to see Iden A shenever he cand to sexico City and if and when she herself could take a brief trip to Guernavaca (if Rowton felt) that necessary).

7. IIRIEG/4 then asked whether Rowton had been able to arrange soke sort of intervention with the judge who would preside over the court in LERIEG/3's case. Then Rowton replied that he had asked some of his friends to inform his as to the status of the case, she commented that Iden B had offered to do what he could since he had close friends exong the Sustemalans. Rowton suggested that IIRIEG/4 get in touch with Iden B again and find out as many detail: as possible concerning the channels he would use both in Mexico Cit and Guatemala City. IIRIEG/4 explained that at that point all she knew was that Iden I whom she described as an active member of the CF Mexico, had a close friend among the Guatemalan exiles and that this friend could forward bribe manay to the judge through his family in Guatemala City. IIRIEG/4 proxised wowton that she would try to meet with this Guatemalan to get details from him.

8. LIRING/4 also reported incidentally that Halled/16 had left PCS and that her friendstle wife of Halled/17, was planning to go an home leave in the near future. She added that she thought that LIRING/16's replacement was a bit "tonto". LIRING/4 also mentioned that she had learned from Iden & that Iden C had been forced to take "indefinite leave" from her jeb and was tantrount to dismissal.

SECRET

Wallace B. Rowton

9 July,1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Activities.

Iden A is Orlando Suarez, Director de Cultura.

Iden B is Arturo Serrano.

Iden C is Mercedes Morales.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECR_:

12 July 1968

Subject: LImING/4 Report of Activities.

1. Mowton met with LIMING/4 at a safercom of the Suites Marne for about two hours on the morning of 10 July and again on 12 July, 1968. Rowton attempted to clarify his position for the future with LIKING/4, as well as LIRING/3. He stated that he was doing the best he could to determine the probable outcome of the case of LIKIN /3, and stressed that any precipitous intervention, even if could be arranged, might do more harm to LI-RING/3 than good at this point. LIRING/4 confessed that her only concern at the moment was somehow to get LIRING/3 out of prison and back to Mexico. She admitted that it was hard for her to be concerned about the future. particularly about enter her or HERRG/3's usefulness to morton, in view of what had happened to him. She said that she felt he had sacrificed enough during his three month imprisonment in such a "horrible" place, and that Rowton should himself "influence" the judge to speed up the formalities and issue a verdict simply expelling LIRING/3 and his companion. She did not see any other solution in view of the inability of the lexican Consulate to arrange the release.

2. In reply to Rowton's query, LIRING/4 stated that she had seen Arturo Serrano of the CP Mexico during lunch at his home on 10 and 11 July, 1968, and that the latter had told her that he would arrange for the 100 Quetzal bribe to be transmitted to the judge concerned via the CF Mexico and the CP Guatemala. He added that, of course, the bribe would finally be offered by a person in Guatemala completely clean of any CF ties. LIRING/4 continued to Rowton that she themalleged to Jerrano that she would telephone her father at once so obtain the money. Berrano suggested that a latter or telegran might be more advisable, at which LIRING/4 wrote a letter to her father in his presence and accepted an offer from him to accompany her to the post office to mail the letter at once. LIRING/4 told howton that in fact she does not expect any further finacial help from her father (who is unwitting of LIRING/3's situation) since he is very ill with cancer of the throat and in no position to help her at this time.

3. Rowton then expressed to ITalico/4 his doubts that the bribe would work but he agreed that it might be worth trying, particularly through Serrano. Rowton added that if this did not werk, third would be only one alternative. Rowton, through his contact in Europe, might be able to approach the Guatemalans on a level higher than the judge and offer to supply them with

information on the Gustemalan rebel activities in PERUMEN. This would of course necessitate IImINC/4's traveling to IEMUMEN and remaining there at least two months to obtain such information. Rowton felt norally certain that through this offer he could arrange for a mild sentence for LIRING/3 and fisabily 6 months, three months of which he has already served) and subsequent expulsion to Fexico.

4. IIRING/4 took this proposal very seriously, at first expressing revulsion at the thought of providing information that would nost probably mean the arrest and execution of revolutionaries who might be the subject of her report but subsequently accepting the idea, when assured by Rowton that he himself would control the dissemination of such information. Rowton stressed that he was presenting this proposal on his own so that he could get had initial no action, nowton added that even if this were acceptable to the Justemelan authorities, the release of LIRING/3 could not be expected for several months this is until IIRING/4 had accomplished her mission in FBRUKER, although his living conditions might be improved by removal to another prison (if such existed) where he could be treated more humanely.

Rowton Comment: Rowton made the above proposal to LIRING/4 to determine her true attitude toward the release of LIRING/3 and to establish stronger control-over her in the event she does make the trip.

Rowton feels that it might be feasible for Guatemala liaison to arrange the eventual release of LIRING/3 or at least to speed up the formalities (in the event that it is planned to issue a stiff sentence) in exchange for the alleged recruitment of LIRING/3's wife who could be sent to FRAUMEN for the collection of information of interest not only to «CFIRM but also Guatemala. This would, of course, blow LIRING/4 to the Guatemalans, but this might be the only scaution if LIRING/3 is given a long prison term.

dallace B. Rowton

SEURET

SEC4-1 17 July.1982 JULICH
SEC4-1 17 July.1982 201-561833

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Rowton Affiliation with ECFIRE.

- 1. Rowton met with IIRING/4 at the Duca D'Este tea shop from 1200 until about 1245 on 15/7/68. IIRING/4 stated that she had again spent the seek-end in Cuernavaca with Crlando Suarez, staying at the Casino de la Selva sith her daughter in a room of an artist friend of Suarez (who had gone to Mexico City for the week-end). She added that she had been to visit the CIECC (Centro Internacional de Documentation) again with Crlando Suarez and was impressed by its extensive library as well as the leftist crientation of its staff. The recalled the name of the director as Larry Green and one other northamerican McGregor (fnu) from the University of Fuebla. The said that she learned in the course of conversation that a group of the students (mossibly ten in marker) had been invited to TERRING/4 also commented that Crlando Suarez had been invited to give a lecture on PERUMEN culture (for a fee of 200 pesos) although as yet the date had hot been determined.
- 2. LIRING/4 then stated that she had again visited the home of Arturo Serrano of the Mexican CP and that on this occasion Serrano's wife had told her that he had succeeded in locating Rodelfo Reyes and had told him about the current financial plight of LIRING/4 and urged him to help ner if hee could. Serrano's sife continued that Reyes then remarked: "I won't help her until I find out on what side LIRING/3 is. If he's with "El Griege I won't help since the G-2 of LIRING told me that they suspect him of being with soffice, although they have no proof ("datos"). They also think he's an arms snuggler." Serrano's wife added that Reyes concluded sith the statement that if it turns out that LIRING/3 acted on his own, then he would personally go to the LIRING Chief and have him request the President of Mexico to intervene.
- 3. LIRING/4 stated that although these comments of Rodolfo Reyes were apparently not taken seriously by Serrano or his wife (Serrano at this same coession oferred again to pass bribe money to the CP Gusterala via the CP Mexico), she herself was badly shaken and angry with Reyes whom she described as a homosexual gossip, worse than a woman. She stated that she intended to tell LIRING/9 that Rodolfo Reyes owed her money for the use of her telephone to call the ABRUMEN capital several months previously and had never paid her kowton agreed that this would not Gally serve to collect the badly meaner but also dispel any notion Reyes might have that Rost

SELICE

18 July, 1968

Subject:

LIRING/4 Report on CIDOC, Cuernavaca.

- 1. Rowton saw LIRIAG/4 again briefly at 1000, 18/7/68, at the Duca d'Este tea shop, to pass her 600 pesos to forward to LIMIAG/3 with vitamins.
- 2. LIREG/A reported that she was continuing to see Orlando Suares and hoped to ascertain the exact data when he would be giving the lecture at CIDCO in Guernavaca. In reply to Rowton's queries, she is stated that she had first gotten in contact with CIDCO through Prof. Jerjes Aguirre, whom she and LIAING/3 had known in PERUMIN where Aguirre had spent some six years (part of the time at the University which LIRING/4 had herself attended). LIRING/4 continued that Aguirre had recently mentioned to her at a chance meeting that he was giving a series of lectures at CIDCO and was being well paid (125.00 US) per lecture. Then LIRING/4 met Aguirre again in Guernavace he introduced near to the director, a certain larry Green, and to an American Frof McGregor, who both invited her, LIRING/4, to give a lecture on LAUMIN Women.
- 3. LIRING/4 told Routon that, although she was interested in the compensation she felt totally uncuslified, and took the cucasion of Orlando Suarez' visit to introduce him and recommend that he give a lecture. Orlando Suarez jumped at the chance to make some money to supplement the meager allowance doled cut to him by Siqueiros, and is prepared to give the lecture when a desimite date is set.
- 4. IIRING/4 continued that when she casually mentioned this developentn to the wife of Arturo Berranc (Ruth); the latter exclaimed: "Ch. don't you know that CIDCO is just an instrument of WOFIRM. You might as well recommend Crlando to the IERINE Embassy here." LIRING/4 was shocked by this and after reflection thought is best to repeat the comment to Crlando Suarez. She did this when he visited Mexico City on 15-16 July (and stayed at her apartment). Suarez' only comment was that such people as Ruth Serrano were "sectarian" and whether CIDCO was with "OFIRM or not did not bother him.
- 5. LIKENG/4 also commented incidentally that Ruth Serrano was escerting a group of French journalists from L'Humanité" around town and that she had complained to LIKENG/4 that she had been given only 200 pesos by the CP Mexico to cover the expenses (fightel). L/4 recalled that Ruth S Trano had mentioned that these Frenchmen had been to PBRUMEN and were planning to return very shortly.

Wallace B. Rowton

Sil

20 July, 1968

Subject: Wallace B. kowton Recontact with RODOLFO REYES.

- 1. Rowton met Rodolfo Reyes at about 2230 in the dining room of the Vendimia Restaurant and night club (60 calle Liverpool) by design on 15 July,1968. Rowton had previously been informed by LIRING/11 that Reyes was currently working at the Vendimia and felt that he should meet Reyes again to pass along the story that he had given to LIRING/11 that he was unable to locate LIRING/3 or LIRING/4 in the hope that Reyes would disclose LIRING/3's arrest.
- 2. As soon as Rowton met Reyes the latter invited him to a corner table, with what appeared to be superficial cordiality. He asked howton how he had located him and appeared a little surprised when Rowton seed that LIRING/11 had given him hthename of the night club and the address. Rowton then alleged that he had been away for the past three months in Switzerland and Canada and just the previous week in Monterrey and Nuevo Laredo trying to buy a car (Rowton had given the same story to LIRING/11). Rowton continued that when he returned he had been unable to locate LIRING/3 or his wife and that they had not replied to his letters from Europe.
- 3. Reyes then revealed that LIRING/3 had been arrested in Guatemala and charged with the murder of three men! Rowton feigned surprise, shock and fear at this news. He told Reyes that this might have serious consequences for his commercial contacts, whose names LIRING/3 might reveal as well as for himself. Reyes then said he thought LIRING/3 was very stupid to get himself arrested in such a country where anything can happen inside as well as outside of jail. In reply to Rowton's query Reyes stated that LIRING/4 was probably in PBRUMEN.
- 4. When Rowton remarked that he could not believe that LIRING/11 had refused to tell him the news about LIRING/3, Reyes replied that it was quite possible that LIRING/11 did not know about it, especially since he, Reyes, had just leanred about it some three days previously. At this point the conversation was interrupted by the arrival at the table of a negro choreographer and his (white) Mexican wife, who appeared to be close friends of Reyes. Rowton sat with them through the floorshow and in the course of conversation Rowton discovered that the negro was a Cuban who had emigrated to Mexico some fifteen years previously. Neither he nor his wife appeared to be interested in politics. They both seemed dedicated to his career in Bellas Abtes.

Wallace B. Rowte

CENTACT REPORT

- 1. Agent: LIkIKG/4
- 2. Date and Site of Reeting: 1700, 21/8/68 and 1500, 22/8/68; Stuites Earne.
- 3. Next Mosting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este coffeeshop.
- 4. Information/Re, orts lassed by Agent:

LIRING/4 stated that she had been doing her best to get Mexican leftist writers and artists to show interest in LIRING/3's case by sending telegrams and letters to the Guatemalan government urging his prompt release. She shound theiten the antillu in bucesos which she claimed credit for (attached herewith) but did not appear to have any knowledge of the notice in the 5 August edition of the News, commenting that it must have been picked up from articles she had planted in other Mexican papaers LIRING/4 reported that she ad purposely avoided direct contact with the LIBING office, empecially during the student demonstrations, since it appeared to be closely watched by the local police. The stated that she was maintaining some contact, however, through her friendship with Iden A, who called on her whenever he came to Nexico City and on occasion stayed at her apartment overnight. She acded that Iden Algenerally stayed at the apartment of LIminG/2 when he was in town although he commented to her that he felt he was imposing on IIaING/2 and his roomates in the already ed quarters. LIRING/4 added that Iden A informed her that LIKILG/9 had returned to PBRUMEN AND was remaining there during the student unrest in order to protect himself", implying that LIRING/9 had been in direct touch with some of the student leaders and could not afford to compromise himself and his office by his physical presence in Mexico City during the demonstrations.

In reply to Rowton's query, !I.I.G/4 stated that although Iden & appeared to be quite liberal in his views and mixed easily with all sorts of people he ran into, he was definitely a "revolutionary" at heart and she assumed loyal to the present | BAUREN GCVERLEENT.

LIRING/4 aslo reported that she horsed to persude and influential lawyer from Chiapas to travel to Gustemala City on her behalf

to investigate LIRING/3's case and possibly influence the judge in his favor. She added that she was quite sure that the lawyer, who was a personal friend of LIRING/3, would take the case without a fee, but she felt obliged to offer to cover his expenses. Rowton suggested that she talk this over with the family of Iden 3 who would also benefit from the any success the lawyer might have.

amount of money (some 300 poors) in tolerand, pour slampe and vitamins for LIRING/3 since his arrest. She stated that she was able to survive and meet these expenses by supplementing the money given to her by Rowton through the sale of works produced by LIRING/3 and sent to her periodcially. Rowton asked LIRING/4 to keep account of such incidental expenses, since he felt it better to charge these items off as operational expenses rather than to continue to charge money given to be on LIRING/3's behalf simply as "servicios".

Wallace B. Mowton

SEU L.

23 August,1968

Iden A:

Orlando Suarez

Iden B:

Carlos Perzabal

Wallace B. Rowton

SECR_.

SUCIDION CO.

Por AZOR

Y SUCREDIEDOS



Carlos Perzabal, catedrático de la Universidad de México, y Carlos Jurado Delmar, destacado pintor de la cacerla de brujas instaurada en Guatemala con extremos que llegan al absurdo.

Los dos mexicanos están propiamente s e c uestrados por las autoridades guatemaltecas desde el 15 de abril del año en curso. Se les hacen una serie de cargos dignos de la mentalidad de un mosquito. Desde huego, como es costumbre en estos casos, cuatro meses después de su ilegal aprehensión ni siquiera han sido puestos a disposición de un juez que los juzgue.

El licenciado Antonio Carrillo Flores, nuestro secratario de Relaciones Exteriores, ha venido interviniendo en defensa de estos infortunados compatriotas, pero hasta ahora sus gestiones oficiales no han sido atendidas debidamente por el gobierno de Guatemala.

Para que usted, lector, tenga idea del atropello incalificable de que son victimas los dos mexicanos, publicamos copie de la carta que Carlos Jurado Delmar y Carlos Perzabal dirigidad recipiones e la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU:

Comisión por los Derechos Humanos.

ONU.

Por este medio nos dirigimos a ustedes, pidiéndoles su intervención en nuestro caso.

El día 13 de abril de 1968, mientras nos diriglamos pacíficamente a la República del Salvador y Honduras, fuimos detenidos con luro de violencia por elementos del Ejército de Guatemala, en un lugar llamado "El Cable" a cuatro kilómetros escasamente de la frontera de México co n Guatemala denominada "La Mesulla".

De ahí, llevados a un lugar llamado "Buenos Aires" donde permanecimos por una noche sujetos a torturas fisicas y morales. Al dia siguiente fuimos conducidos en un avión (No. 540) de la FAG a la ciudad capital, donde quedamos encarcelados en el 20. Cuerpo de la Policía Nacional, sujeros también a torturas físicas y morales que hicieron y hacan poligrar nuestra vida.

Tan obvio es el error cometido con ricsotros, que a pesar de que nuestra detención se llevó a cabo desde el :lía 13 de abril, como puede ser probado fácilmente con testigos presenciales y desde entonces mantenidos en prisión, el gobierno guatemalteco nos acusa de haber sido detenidos el día 17 del mismo mes, en las calles de la ciudad. IIRepartiendo propaganda subversiva!! Incongruencia mayor no cabe en ninguna mente que se precie de normal.

Desde el día 26 de abril de 1968 fuimos confinados al campo de concentración de Pavón, ma I llamado "Granja Penal". Donde las condiciones de vida para los reclusos y la violencia al que están sometidos, son espeluznantes como puede ser fácilmente comprobado por la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos.

Hemos sido sujetos a un

"juicio" que el gobierno guatemalteco alarga deliberadamente con el único pronúctio de imbirir en arca y a la vez perjudicamos; por ésto y sobre todo por considerar en grave peligro nuestra integridad física, pedimos la rápida intervención de la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos para que se exija nuestra inmediata libertad.

Atentamente, Cárcel de Pavón, Guatemala, Julio 68. Carlos Jurado, Pintor Miembro del Salón de la Plastica Mexicana.

Carlos Perzabal, Catedrático de la Universidad de México.

El actual ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Guatemala, licenciado Emilio Arenales Catalári, ha sido mencionado varias veces como candidato a presidir la Comisión del Derechos Humanos de la ONU. Ojaláno espere a obtener ese cargo para intervenir en este caso, que según parece es de su especialidad.



CARLOS JURADO DEL-MAR, secuestrado por les enteridades quaterneltecas



LIC. ANTONIO CARRI-LLO FLORES en defense de



CARLOS PERZABAL, secuestrado por les leutorida-

29 August, 1968

within the principle

1. Agent: LIRING/4

2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este Tearcom.

3. Next Meeting: Same time and place, 2/9/68.

4. Information/heports Passed by Agent:

LIHING/4 informed Rowton that she had run into LIRING/10 and his assistant, Iden 1, the previous afternoon (27/8/68) at about 1345 at the office of the director of Siempre, where she had gone in connection with added publicity for ITAIKG/3. She stated that ITETME/AC connected how condition with an abraso and asked how she was doing. He seemed ganuinely disturbed to hear that things were no better, and commented that he had been hearing about her from time to time from Iden B, but felt that she should make her problems known to the LIMING office herself. When LIRING/4 commented that Iden C had told her and Idea B that it might be wiser for her to avoid contact openly with the LIMING office, LIMING/10 brushed this off, remarking that he felt it would be perfectly alright for LIKING/4 to come in whenever she felt it necessary for moral and whatever material help could be offered.

LIRING/4 teld Reston that in view of this comment of LIRING/10, she visited the LIRING office early that same morning (28/8/68) and found that LIRING/2 had returned from his TDY. She said that LIRING/2 greeted her cordially as usual, but he apparently did not have time to that with her on that occasion.

5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent:

Rowton asked LIRING/4 to follow up on her contact with LIRING/10, especially since he appeared so friendly. Rowton suggested that 1/4 ask L/10 to appeal to the Director of Siempre to give L/3's case good publicity. L/4 promised to do so and commented that L/10 appeared to be quite chumny with the director and apparently had a luncheon date with him for that same day.

allace B. Royton

29 August, 1968

Iden's of LIRING/4 Contact Report

Iden A: Felix Luna Mederos

. Iden B: Orlando Suarez

Iden C: Jesus Cruz Gonzalez

Wallace B. Rowton

CASSECATION -PROCESSING ACTION DISPATCH SECRET MARKED FOR MICESTRES Chief. Western Hamisphere Division NO INDEXING REQUIRED OFEY GLALFED DESK CAM JUDGE ANDLICING 52.00 Chief of Station, Moxico City DARG PERMAN: Activities of LIRIEG-3, LIRIEG-4 May through Mid-September 1968 ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES REF: HESTA 34682, 17 May 1368 Action Required: For your information. 1. Forwarded under seperate cover are twelve reports prepared by Wallace B. ROSTON on the activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4, and contacts of the latter. 4 Wha waln bonds something to memory to the comment of obtain help in getting LIKIEC-1 out of joil in Gusteusle as soon as possible. LIMING-6 is simpet penniless (200708 has made only token payments to her after 15 June) and has been soving from one spertment to a cheeper one living on the sale of paintings left by LIRING-3 and small losas from ! Itist contacts. In the hope that she may be able to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has resisted all of EGATOM's efforts to get bor to undertake a classestime mission to PERIMEN, a mission, as Beadquarters knows, was plasmed long ago. As a foreigner, LIRIES-4 cannot work in Mexico without toking the chance of being deported, if caught. Although she has not tried it, she would probably be refused a visa to me to Customia to visit LIRING-3. She might also face difficulties in Gustemmia including possible detention and interrogation if she succeeded in obtaining an entry permit to that country. 3. By mid-September 1968 LIBING-4 had received very little halp from her Maxican leftist or cutright Communist friends. In spite of promises to try to bribe the Gustemalen judge scheduled to try LIRING-3 all LIRING-4's "Triends" succeeded in doing was to print several articles in the local press (some of them with LIRING-3's photo) claiming that LIRING-3 was unjustly imprisoned, that he was about to be executed, etc. If anything, these continued. Attachments: 12 reports u/s/e 31 4 Eden rets 1/s/c #2 Distribution: Oris & 2 - C/WBD w/atte is copy in 201-818942 201-795301 NORTH REPORT OF SECURIO CAN ACCIONA FOLIAGO 100M - 35502 26 September 1968 S FRE BRANKS 4493 Tan 25 King 201-798301

articles did little to prejudice the Gustesslans in favor of LIRING-3.

As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Gustessla City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was seved from a prison "transfer" by the Gustesslan army by the arrival of the Nexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

- 4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIVING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PREUMENS still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guntemals is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTCH's 17 July report) to the offect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTCH under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOFIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.
- 5. Statements such as those made by RETES confirm the Station's belief that LIRIEG, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate branched during the statement of the confirmant of
- 6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando *SUAREZ of the Ministry of Culture now in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David ALFARO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUG-1 no effort was unde to approach him.
- 7. Contacts between RGATOH and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to BOFIRM has sharply decreased and bocause LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTOH cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTOH since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTOH and the Station.

for Willard C. CURTIS

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	HER ACCESS AND MAY LEAD TO REPATRIATION. ROWTON FEELS LATTER
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- I. ROWTON SO FAR UNABLE LEARN MORE FROM LIRING-4 ABOUT HOW JUDGE SCHEDULED TRY CARLOS (JURADO) DELMAR COULD BE BRIBED OTHER THAN STATEMENT BY ARTURO (SERRANO) BEREA TO EFFECT THIS TO BE ARRANGED BY GUAT COMMUNIST PARTY AT REQUEST MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. PERSON TO MAKE ACTUAL BRIBE, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE KNOWN AS LEFTIST.
- 2. MEXICO CITY ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY "THE NEWS" 5 AUG CARRIED ARTICLE TITLED "MEXICAN ARTIST TO BE EXECUTED". ARTICLE QUOTED GROSP OF INTELLECTUALS INCLUDING PAINTERS, WRITERS, POETS AND SCULPTORS TO SAY GUAT ENTERED GUATEMALA IN HIS CAR FOUR MONTHS AGO AND PICKED UP SOME HITCHHIKING YOUTHS WHO LATER TURNED OUT BE CONNECTED WITH GUAT COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS. ARTICLE OBVIOUSLY PLANTED BY LOCAL LEFTISTS IN EFFORT SPREAD NEWS JURADO ARREST AND DETENTION TO FORCE OFFICIAL GUT INTERVENTION. ROWTON TRYING ESTABLISH FROM LIRING-4 WHO WHII file.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 6658 S E C R E I

3. BELIEVE NEWS APTICLE COULD BE USED TO APPROACH LIAISON
AND ASK FOR DETAILS ON JURADO CASE WITHOUT INDICATING ANY SPECIAL
CONNECTION TO JURADO. SPECIFICALLY, WHAT SENTENCE CAN BE EXPECTED
IN JURADO CASE AND WHEN?

4. FOR DIRECTOR: DESPITE SOMEWHAT CCOLER RELATIONSHIP WITH ROWTON AT THIS POINT BECAUSE JURADO SITUATION, LIRING-4 STILL WILLING GO PBRUMEN AS SOON AS JURADO FUTURE SETTLED, PARTICULARLY IF HE DEPORTED OR SENTEPCED RELATIVELY SHORT JAIL SENTENCE.

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Carlos JUHADO was target of LIFEAT coverage on behalf of Cuba section. Coverage terminated 2 April 68. Name included in list attacher to HMMA 3507L, 19July68

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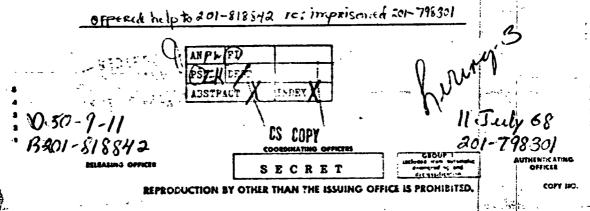
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B. GUATEMALA CITY 9236 (IN 47690)	AKCIPUBLICATION 2 P
D. GUALDARIA CILI 5250 (IR 41050)	- CIT-1

- 1. HQS FILES INDICATE ARTURO SERRANO IN 1966 WAS DIRECTOR

 PCM PUBLISHING HOUSE FONDO DE CULTURA IN MEXICO CITY, BUT THERE NO

 DETAILS RE HIS CONTACTS WITH THIRD COUNTRY EXILES OR OFFICIALS. WE

 THEREFORE UNABLE COMMENT ON VALIDITY HIS CLAIM TO ASSIST LIRING/3.
- 2. CONCUR GUATEMALA CITY COMMENT REF B. FEEL LIRING/4 SHOULD CONTINUE FRESS SERRANO FOR MORE DETAILS HIS CHANNEL TO AND IDENTITY OF GUATEMALAN OPPICIALS INVOLVED. HELIEVE LIRING/4 AND STATION WILL THEN BE IN BETTER POSITION TO ASSESS VALIDITY SERRANO CLAIM. SUGGEST LIRING/4 ALSO CHECK SERRANO STORY WITH LEFTIST CIRCLE OF FRIENDS TO ATTEMPT VERIFY AND EXPLORE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FUNDS IF FEASIBLE. STATION



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1. HECTOR RODOLFO (SANDOVAL) ALEGRIA IS GHAT REBEL WHO
TOGETHER WITH FRANCISCO (LARA) ENGINEERED LIRING-3 AND FRANCISCO
LARA TRIP TO GUATEMALA WHERE NOW INCARCERATED. SANDOVAL SAW
LIRING-4 SEVERAL TIMES AFTER LIRING-3 ARREST AT ONE POINT SAYING
HE MIGHT HAVE TO HOLD UP BANK TO COME TO LIRING-4 ASSISTANCE.
ACCORDING MANUEL (MARCUE) PARDIMAS, SANDOVAL ARRESTED 5 MAY SHORTLY
AFTER HIS WIFE RETURNED FROM TRIP TO GUATEMALA. SANDOVAL WIFE
NOW STAYING AT HOUSE OWNED BY MARCUE TOGETHER WITH FAMILY FRANCISCO
LARA.

2. IN ATTEMPT COUNTER EVENTUALITY MEXICAN POLICE (ON BASIS INFO PROVIDED BY SANDOVAL) MIGHT BE LOOKING FOR LIRING-4 FOR INTERROGATION, STATION HAS ASKED LIRING-4 GIVE UP BOTH APARTMENTS SHE AND LIRING-3 HAVE BEEN RENTING. LIRING-4 NOW LIVING WITH GRIFTHEND. BEFORE MOVING SHE RECEIVED VISIT OF MAN WHO DESCRIBED SELF AS LAWYER OF MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LAWYER SAID HE APPOINTED DEFEND LIRING-3. LIRING-4 HAS RECEIVED FIVE SHORT

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1 MANUEL UMARCHE)	;	FORMED LIRING-		
SISTER AND DAUGHTER IN	LAW HAD SUC	CEEDED IN OBTA	INING GUAT	VISA . 1/
AND TRAVELED GUATEMALA	CITY IN AN E	EFFORT TO SEE	CARLOS MINU	IEL MC
(PERSAVAL) MARCUE IN JA	IL. MARCUE	SAID SISTER AN	D DAUGHT ER	IN LAW
WHO RETURNING WEEK 12 M	AY LEARNED I	ARSAVAL AND L	IRING-JSENT	ENCED
TO MINIMUM TERM OF SIX	MONTHS.		•	
2. LIRING-4 CURRENT	LY EXPLORING	POSSIBILITY	TRAVEL GUAT	EMALA
TO TALK TO LIRING-3. ST	ATION IN FA	OR SUCH TRAVE	L IF SHE CA	N GET
VISA AS LIRING-3 CAN BE	EXPECTED U	RGE LIRING-4GO	CUBA DURIN	IG HIS
TERM OF IMPRISONMENT.				
3. CAN GUATEMALA CI	TY STATION	CONFIRM LIRING	3-3 SENTENCE	E AND
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E. LIRING-3: Dering this period, LIRING-3 was introduced to members of a Guatemalan exile LIRING-3 agreed to belp one or more representatives of this group cross the Guatemalan border. At the urging of these representatives he also agreed to meet in Guatemala with a woman in charge of logistics for the FAR movement. LIRING-3 spent the better part of the period under review manufacturing false documentation for the Guatemalan exiles. The Station used the LIZEBRACE surveillance team to cover some of the asetings between LIRING-3 and some of his mervous Guatemalan friends. Copies of photographs taken by the LIEMBRACEs of these meetings were forwarded to the Guatemala City Station and Beadquarters. Due to several postponements, LIRIEG-3 and his Guatemalan contacts had not left for Quatenala by the end of the period under review.

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A. OCCUPANTS OF	•	B7A (FUENTES)	LAVO GRAZ	
•				
ORN 19 JULY 1922 AT	SAN ANTONIO	VILLASECA, DE	PT OF RETAL	KULEU,
ND HIS WIFE, MARIA I	EL MILAGRO (PERALTA) E. D	E FUENTES.	CNO
TATION TRACES EITHER	FUENTES OR	WIFE.) BEAUTY	SHIP (SALO	I DE
ELLEZA "LILLIAN") AL	SO TESTALLED	IN HOUSE, BI	IT NOT YET A	BLE
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B. ESLAIRS HAVE	NCT ICED 1963	MERCURY WITH	GUAT LICENS	5 E
GATES P-31-341 PARKE	D AT HOUSE O	N SEVERAL OCC	CASIONS. THIS	S CAR
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